MUSEUMS AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF RACE IDEOLOGIES: THE CASE OF NATURAL HISTORY AND ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUMS IN SOUTH AFRICA

by

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DECLARATION

I **Wandile Goozen Kasibe** hereby declare that the work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my original work, except where acknowledgements indicate otherwise. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other practitioners has been attributed, cited and referenced. This dissertation includes photographs of human remains of individuals in a form of skulls, close up photographs of indigenous Africans and human casts that may offend sensitive viewers. The intention for the inclusion of this 'material' in this research is not to reproduce the colonial traumas but to expose the colonial injustice and how it still affects society today. The permission to use these photographs for the purposes of this specific research has been granted, however, the reproduction of these images including the content of this research should be done in full consultation with the researcher and the institutions whose copyright to the material lies.

Signature…Signed by candidate.....

Date: 15 October 2020

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DEDICATION

This thesis is a dedication to critical scholarship and efforts to create a cross-pollinating space for decolonial reasoning and critique. It is my gift to the “Fallist” movement in South Africa and abroad, the one whose intersectional pillars of Black Consciousness, Pan Africanism and Black Radical Feminism have resuscitated the ‘decolonial project’ with new energy and vigor to spark global change in museums and universities. I also dedicate this thesis to the oppressed peoples of the world, the wretched of the earth, the marginalized, the down trodden who are bound together by the continuity of colonial grief. This work is a product of both a direct and indirect efforts of all the people whose names have been mentioned here and those whose names have not been mentioned.

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UThix’ukhona MaGuerrilla

Amandl’Ezwelethu!

WaKliye, He he he

ABSTRACT

This enquiry investigates the entanglement of the Natural History and Ethnographic museums in the construction of racist ideologies, the perpetuation of colonial reasoning and its continuities in South Africa today. It draws our attention to the fact that the museological institution was complicit and colluded in the perpetuation of colonial "crimes against humanity", thereby rendering its own institutionality a colonial "crime scene" that requires rigorous "de-colonial" investigation in the "post-colonial" era.

In the attempt to shed more light into the miasma caused by colonial and apartheid rule, I turn to the practices of 'scientific enquiry' and public exhibitions to advance an argument that these museum exhibits were a precursor to genocide. The study further argues that, these public exhibits of Africans were instrumental in popularizing theories of racial ideology and white 'supremacy', dehumanizing Africans and thereby creating public justification for colonial dispossession of Africans. To support my argument I discuss the underpining politics that informed the making and dismantling of the South African Museum's "Bushman" diorama.

Further to the discussion about dioramas, human zoos and other forms of racializing spectacles, I make reference to the haunting narratives of the African Diasporas to provide context and perspective. These African individuals are: Sarah Baartman ('The Hottentot Venus') and El Negro 'object 1004' and then Ota Benga, the "Congolese Pygmy", who was displayed with an orangutan at the Bronx Zoo in America in 1906,

and labelled “the Missing Link”. Part of my attempt to understand the story of Benga, I set on a journey to track him to the United States (US).

To point out and expose these human wrongs I incorporate and discuss images of decapitated heads, prepared skulls and images of emaciated Africans, not to reproduce colonial traumas, but to unveil the gravity of the violence that was emitted against those who were deemed ‘lesser’ beings, namely the black Africans and KhoiSan in particular. The colonial museum collected these human remains for race ‘science’ under politically motivated circumstances to feed to the idea that black ‘inferiority’ and white ‘superiority’ as a new global socio-political order. The evidence of diverse materials (photographs, manuscript letters etc) that I have used here point to the toxic collusion between the colonial administration and the museological institution in the perpetuation of racial violence in South Africa.

The contribution among many other contributions of this study is the interrogation of these colonial traces in the museological institution and the proposal of a decolonial project framed in the form of a Museum Truth, Repatriation and Restitution Commission (#MuseumTRRC). The MuseumTRRC as both a socio-political and museological tool sharply invokes the interplay between the construction of race and the establishment of the colonial museum in a way that helps us understand how the museological institution influenced laws of racial separation that South Africa’s apartheid past was built on. The MuseumTRRC is presented as the sine qua non in the framing of the ‘new museum’ of the future.

In a nutshell, the study presents to us new ways of seeing museums and their sociological impact of their collections on people's lives today. It presents what I term in this thesis as 'museumorphosis', a process of radical epistemological shift that should take place in the museum in order for the museological institution to effectively respond to the sensibilities of the 21st Century and beyond.

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1.1 INTRODUCTION

"…just remember that at the same time that Europe accumulated money through the extraction of gold and silver in the sixteenth century…Europe also accumulated meaning. Museums and universities were and continue to be two crucial institutions for the accumulation of meaning and the reproduction of the coloniality of knowledge and of being"[1]

'the colonial origins of the museum remains an enduring influence upon these institutions and upon public perception of them.'[2]

"…museums and their museumizing imagination, are both profoundly political"[3].

In this study, I investigate the entanglement of the natural history and anthropological museums in the construction and institutionalization of race ideology in colonial and apartheid South Africa since the 19th century. I will demonstrate in this collegial enquiry how the museological institution was used as a conduit to justify racial dogmas and perceived racial hierarchies. Through its maintained colonial legacies and matrices of power, the museological institution remains a problematic institution that requires 'decolonial' investigation and self introspection. I argue here that this introspection

[1] Walter Mignolo, Museums in the Colonial Horizon of Modernity: Fred Wilson's Mining the Museum (1992) in Globalization and Conteporary Art (first edition) ed. Jonathan Harris (United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), p.72.
[2] Moira G. Simpson, *Making Representations: Museums in the Post-Colonial Era* second edition (London & USA: Routledge, 1996), p.1.
[3] Bennedict Anderson, Imagined Communities (London & New York: Verso, 1983), p.178.

needs to take a form of the Museum Truth, Repatriation and Restitution Commission or what I have termed as the the Museum TRRC. In this study I also outline the following necessary interventions to address the tainted past in museums:

- Reassesment of the museum's role in perpetuating colonial crimes motivated by race 'science': critical public engagements to address this aspect of the museum
- Framing the dehumanizing ethnographic displays in natural history and anthropological museums as 'colonial crime scenes' and sites of violence that require investigation
- A call to make museum inventories of unethically acquired human remains and tainted objects public so as to allow communities to know about the gravity of the gross human rights violations perpetuated by the museological institution during the colonial and apartheid times in South Africa
- A contribution to a legal process to help institutionalize the Museum TRRC as a restitution programme aimed at dealing presicely with the colonial crimes committed by museums. Ethnographic displays that perpetuate racism and undermine the humanity of black Africans be closed down as part of the ongoing program to decolonize museums

At the cusp of this 'modernizing mission' of empire lay the institution that mummified and gave 'scientific' credence to racism and its different forms of manifestations - the museum. It is thus important to note at this stage that, what I am particularly interested in here is how this phenomenon of race making found expression within the

museological institution and what have been the sociological ramifications on society today. To understand the sociological question contained in this study is to fully comprehend Geraldine Hong's argument when she argues that, "race-making thus operates as specific historical occasions in which strategic essentialisms are posited and assigned through a variety of practices and pressures, so as to construct a hierarchy of peoples for different treatment"[4] It is this different treatment of race othering that I argue the museological institution has maintained to harness racism in order to maintain racial stereotypification of black bodies in an attempt to elevate white supremarcy as a standard and order of the day.

As we decode the complexity of the subject in question, we discover yet another challenge and that is the sensitivities around issues of ethics: the balance between morality and 'scientific' research pursued by museums. We first need to interrogate the way in which museums have been positioned as institutions of knowledge production. We then also need to ask the questions: what kind of knowledge have the anthropological museums been producing in South Africa and for whose consumption? How has the body of knowledge produced in museums contributed to the horrors of racial stereotypes, genocide and mentalities in which our society is still locked today? What constitutes science and research within the realm of human representation and misrepresentation in anthropological and natural history museums? Where is the actual science in the now discredited racial 'science' that was used to create racial stereotypes about people who were deemed 'lesser beings'? In the age of human rights and

[4] Geraldine Hong, The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages (United Kingdom & USA: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p.3.

democracy: who has the right to represent whom? Lastly, what is to be done? These questions confront us as we set ourselves on a journey to investigate the role of museums in the construction of race ideologies in South Africa and their entanglement with colonial continuities today. The authors that I have chosen whose body of work answer some of these underlying questions are quoted in this study to their fullest extent with longer quotes. This is done so as to allow their work to speak for itself and also to keep close to the facts.

While it could be argued that the professionalization of the socio-anthropological study of race and its manifestations only began with the emergence of physical anthropology as a 'science' that sought to use human biology to define race in the processes that began as early as the 16th century and picked up the pace in the 19th century, it is important to note the concept of race and racism as a perpetuation of racial 'difference' in the encounter between the African and the European in Africa can be dated back to the travellers tales of the Venetian, Marco Polo, in the 13th century. However, this account of visiting Zanzibar has been contested as there is no evidence that Polo travelled to Africa. In 1294, Polo writes as Laurence Bergreen records, "the men are all 'very large and stout'…I tell you that [each one] eats food for five men of another country"[5] and, "these superhumans 'are all black and go naked except that they are covered in their natural parts…they have them very large and ugly and horrible to see…they have so great a mouth and the nose so flat and turned upward the forehead, and beads and nostrils…they have large ears, thick lips, turned outward, and eyes so

[5] Laurence Bergreen, Marco Polo: from Venice to Xanadu (New York: Vintage Books, 2008), p.295.

large and so bloodshot and so red that they are a very horrible thing to see; for whoever should see them in another country would say of them that they were devils"[6]

There is a belief that these types of "fabulous tales recorded from the time of Herodotus down to the centuries of Sindbad the Sailor"[7], may have been told to keep intruders and newcomers away from areas of navigation and trade, among other forms of intimidation, in order to preserve lucrative trade monopolies. However, these excerpts of "Marco's exceptionally harsh and racist portrayal of the Zanzibaris raise questions…'[8] and reveal the depth of racism which has for centuries preoccupied western reasoning. His focus on physical features, specifically the face including the mouth, nose, forehead, nostrils, lips, eyes and extending to overall body structure, could be seen as a precursor to Western 'scientific' racism which subsequently used physical features as markers and signifiers of 'inferiority' and 'superiority'. We could go further to argue that, perhaps this also laid a theoretical foundation for what was later understood as physical anthropology and within this 'scientific' realm "Africa would sadly become a major site for the emergence of a racial, or racist, branch of anatomical science."[9]

Polo's account gives us the first in depth "traveller's tale" and perceptions which reveal the writer's racist attitude towards African blacks, but also brings to light the general perception of European voyagers. This supports Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze's argument

[6] Laurence Bergreen, Marco Polo: from Venice to Xanadu (New York: Vintage Books, 2008), p.295.
[7] Jean-Francois Salles, The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea and the Arab-Persian Gulf. https://www.persee.fr/doc/topoi_1161-9473_1993_num_3_2_1482 (accessed 5 June 2018)
[8] Laurence Bergreen, Marco Polo: from Venice to Xanadu (New York: Vintage Books, 2007), p.295.
[9] Patrick Harries, Warfare, Commerce and Science: Racial Biology in South Africa in The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representation (eds) Nicolas Bancel et al, (New York, Routledge, 2014), p.176.

that these voyages "…contributed significantly to the perception of Europe as familiar and 'civilized,' living in the Age of Light, while the peoples of the lands (Asia, Africa, America) were of 'strange' habits and mores"[10], an argument which I shall later discuss when I look into the connection between the activities of the voyagers and the formulation of race theories from the seventeenth century and the establishment of the colonial museum.

The notion about sustained racializing discourses using physical features as markers of 'inferiority' and 'superiority' is corroborated by Handri Walters, who states, "during the late 18th, 19th and early 20th century these features were cemented as the markers of not only biological racial difference but further related to a human hierarchy – one that conflated biological difference with social inferiority and superiority.

This logic informed eugenic science of the early 20th century, when the scientific measurement of these features was considered the task (and expertise) of the physical anthropologist."[11] But what could Walters be implying here? Could she perhaps be implying that the 'seeds' of racial 'science' that later germinated into racial inequality and strife were planted by the chosen few, the elite who bestowed on themselves the task to re-engineer society as they saw fit?

[10] Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze, Race and the Enlightenment (USA: BLACKWELL Publishers, 1997), p.5.
[11] Handri Walters, Tracing Objects of Measurement: Locating Intersections of Race, Science and Politics at Stellenbosch University (Unpublished Thesis), p.5.

In these processes of racialization, white Europeans located themselves at the top of the human ladder, whilst non-whites were pushed to the margins of humanity, and later said to occupy the lacuna between the human and animal world.

Patrick Harries captures this observation with precision when he argues, "the Bushmen were the 'missing link' in the Great Chain of Being between animals and human."[12] The question of how the 'Bushmen' and other native peoples came to be understood to be in the 'missing link' between apes and men should not escape our critical enquiry, for it was in this positioning that notions of antediluvian race and the 'natural varieties of mankind' were created, which later were codified in colonial law with devastating consequences. But how did it come to this, that the ideas of the few would have far reaching effects on the lives of so many people across the world?

It is when we do a close investigation of the central role that physical anthropology has played in the study of the racialized body in comparison with other bodies in museums, universities and scientific institutions that we are made to understand the fact that, historically the features of the skull, as well as eye colour, hair colour and texture, and skin colour were deemed important markers for determining "…the Natural Varieties of Mankind."[13] I argue here that this racialization was possible because of the symbiotic relationship and toxic collusion between the museological institution and the colonial administration.

[12] Patrick Harries, Warfare, Commerce and Science: Racial Biology in South Africa in The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representation (eds) Nicolas Bancel et al, (New York, Routledge, 2014), p.176.
[13] Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze, Race and the Enlightenment (USA: BLACKWELL Publishers, 1997), p.79.

The determination of these ‘natural varieties of mankind’ were built on pre-conceived ideas, stereotypes and racial perceptions by white Europeans about the darker races. Anthropological displays in natural history museums translated these perceptions into ‘scientific’ displays that were accepted and applied to cement notions of race and racism in South Africa. In this logic, the museological institution and the construction of race are intertwined. For example, museums collected the mortal remains of the ‘vanquished’ communities and studied them to solidify racial stereotypes about the people whose humanity was questioned by men of ‘science’. Understanding the mentality of these physical anthropologists will help us investigate epistemological processes of how racism was institutionalized through carefully curated museological displays, exhibitionary set up, world fairs, zoological gardens, human zoos and many other activities from which colonial concepts were perfected and disseminated to the broader public.

I shall demonstrate that in South Africa these anthropological displays and visual representations of the ‘other’ became tools through which white Europeans could inflict psychological pain on those whom they deemed ‘sub-humans’ and to whom the colonial violence was directed. Museological displays, bodycasts, research materials and laws were premised on the single idea to ‘fix’ the “Khoikhoi, San and the Native problem” and put them in their ‘position’ lower than the white European.

I again foreground the argument that, the fact that these indigenous people occupied lands that were needed for white settlement and extraction of natural resources for the

enrichment of the empires was the problem for white Europeans, who needed to take over those lands in order for them to exist as a people. In the colonial and neo-colonial context, this can be encapsulated in the following: in order for whites to exist blacks had to desist to exist. A situationality described by Ngugi wa Thiong'o as the "…de facto one of parasite and producer"[14] In the metaphor drawn by wa Thiong'o, the European colonialist is a parasite and the African indigene is the host, but he further asks, "…how come the de facto dependent is still the master of the de facto independent, for where the latter proposes the former disposses."[15] But for them to successfully dispossess the natives of their land, they first had to create an impression that these 'natives' are sub-humans, thus their existence should be subservient to whites. Museums played an important role in popularizing and justifying this logic, hence my argument that to understand the construction of race we need to understand the internal structures of the museological institution itself. As wa Thiong'o put it, "…ethnographic museums played a role in popularizing and invigorating interest in the colonially originated discipline anthropology and cultural geography and no doubt also enhanced the standing of their intellectuals as authorities on Africa."[16]

This reflection on the spectacle and racialization of bodies in colonially curated contexts to justify the 'supremacy' of whites and 'inferiority' of blacks finds expression in Nicolas Bancel et al, when they argue that, "this epistemological transformation in the visual representation of racialized bodies in the early days of the nineteenth century coincided

[14] Ngugi wa Thiong'o, Globaletics: Theory and the Politics of Knowing (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), p.27.
[15] *Ibid.,* p.27.
[16] *Ibid.,* p.34.

with the rising popularity of the first ethnic shows, of which the Venus Hottentot remains the emblematic symbol"[17] And further argue that, "the emergence of this phenomenon proved crucial because these ethnic spectacles served to disseminate a new visual culture on the 'races' to the general public while simultaneously – through freak shows, zoos, the circus, and cabinets of curiosity – introducing in Europe and the US the figure of the exotic and the savage."[18] Whilst, the study uses South Africa as a point of departure into understanding the modalities of race construction through museums, it must be emphasized that black Africans were not the only racialized and ethnicized group in the unfolding politics of global colonization and imperialism. It is important to acknowledge this fact because history does not occur in linearities. There are various forms of oppressions that have taken place in many parts of the world and some similar to what we have seen in Africa. This is not in any way a comparison of who suffered the most, instead it's realizing the multidimensionality of the effects of race making, ethnicity and how these have cast a long shadow on humanity itself.

The Holocaust in Nazi Germany was based on the rise of anti-Semitism and medical experimentation on the 'undesired' body of the Jew. There was a proliferation of formations such as the "Berlin Society of Racial Hygiene; the German Society of Racial Hygiene in Munich; the International Society of Racial Hygiene; the Austrian Society for the Study of the Science of population; the Czech Society for Eugenics; and the

[17] Nicolas Bancel et al, The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representation (New York, Routledge, 2014), p.2.
[18] *Ibid.,* p.2.

Hungarian Society for Racial Hygiene and Population Policy"[19] and many other eugenics and Racial Hygiene movements in North America, Great Britain, central and south Eastern Europe and across the world.

These eugenics movements in the 'Global North'[20] added to processes of racial strata through which the idea of the 'super race' and whiteness was constructed and further refined by those whose standards the rest of the world had to live by. These imperial countries started to look within their own borders to identify elements of their populations that would be subjected to these processes of eradication for ethnic cleansing and creating of the 'pure race'. To this effect, Marius Turda and Paul J. Weindling, state that, "…racial anthropologists and eugenicists in central and Southeast Europe utilized many channels in order to present their programs of national rejuvenation and scientific success."[21]

And in these engagements in geographical terrains such as Southeast Europe and North America, Turda and Weindling record that, "eugenicists, for instance, argued that new medical services should be introduced as part of the programme of national rejuvenation, a programme which should discourage the survival of the 'unfit' – including

[19] Marius Turda and Paul J. Weindling, Eugenics, Race and Nation in Central and Southeast Europe, 1900-1940: A Historiographic Overview in Blood and Homeland (eds) Marius Turda and Paul J. Weindling (Budapest & New York: Central European University Press Press, 2007), p.2.
[20] While the terms Global North and South 'denote the generic geographic, historical, economic, educational, and political division between North and South. North America, Europe, and developed parts of East Asia disproportionately control global resources. Disparities of wealth, housing, education, digital media access and numerous other factors underscore the power and privilege enjoyed by the Global North' https://www.igi-global.com/dictionary/global-northsouth/50101 In this study the term Global North refers to European, Australia and North American countries that have either directly or indirectly involved in the global colonization of other nations.
[21] Marius Turda and Paul J. Weindling, Eugenics, Race and Nation in Central and Southeast Europe, 1900-1940: A Historiographic Overview in Blood and Homeland (eds) Marius Turda and Paul J. Weindling (Budapest & New York: Central European University Press Press, 2007), pp.6-7.

not only the mentally disabled and other 'defective' lineages of human breeding but also those of different ethnic origin. To prevent 'degeneration' of the nation, eugenics claimed additional rights over the proliferation of 'genetically inferior individuals'"[22]

Influenced by German Nazi eugenics, in Central and Southeast Europe eugenics became central in the formation of nation state and citizenship and this fed to notions of "racial utopia"[23], where as Turda and Weindling argues that the ideology of the "'chosen race' (Croats, Romanians, Hungarians, and so forth)…"[24] was prepared at the expense of the "Serbs, Vlachs, Jews…"[25] They (Turda and Weindling) further posit the sense that, "the central theme here was not the attempt to define race in terms of 'blood,' as serological research as advocated, but rather in terms of the supposed racial value of blood groups"[26] And that "'blood,' as a symbol of national belonging, transcended science; it operated vertically, unifying the nation with its mythical project into the future"[27] , this was also racialized along religious fault lines.

In what Turda and Weindling further describe as "racial nationalism, combined a scientific pretension to objectivity, aimed at purifying the nation of any 'unworthy' or 'dangerous' elements", nations started to identify and act upon these 'unworthy' and dangerous' elements in their nation state and eugenics provided theoretical justifications and guidance on how to curb these 'impediments' and 'non-national' elements.

[22] Marius Turda and Paul J. Weindling, Eugenics, Race and Nation in Central and Southeast Europe, 1900-1940: A Historiographic Overview in Blood and Homeland (eds) Marius Turda and Paul J. Weindling (Budapest & New York: Central European University Press Press, 2007), p.10.
[23] *Ibid.,* p.13.
[24] *Ibid.,* p.13.
[25] *Ibid.,* p.13.
[26] *Ibid.,* p.13.
[27] *Ibid.,* p.13.

Beyond south Eastern Europe and way before the formalization of the Eugenics movements in Ireland, Miguel DeArce and René Gapert record that, "the Celtic model of skull was highly sought after in Victorian times. The Irish, particularly those from the west and from the islands, being on the fringes of Europe, were thought to have been isolated for a long time, thus representing the 'pure' Irish."[28] There were the Maori people of New Zealand, First Peoples such as the Aborigines in Australia, First Nations of Canada and many other indigenous people who after their dispossession to make way for white and European settlement, became the 'subjects' of 'science'.

Patrick Brantlinger observes that, in these geographical terrains, "…the advent of Europeans meant steep declines in indigenous populations. One of the main causes of these declines was not mysterious: violence, warfare, genocide."[29] The European-Indigene conflicts were to a large extent predicated upon notions of colonial expansion and 'modernity' and those communities who stood in the way of this 'modernizing' mission were annihilated through the barrel of a gun or sword, with their relics and human remains taken as trophies and scientific objects to be preserved and studied in scientific institutions such as museums. In this long and painful process for those who were on the receiving end of these exterminations, Brantlinger argues that, "…there were many rationalizers and even advocates of the extermination of the native populations. Their racist and imperialist arguments frequently entail denunciations of

[28] Miguel DeArce and René Gapert, A Head For Science History Ireland, Vol. 25, No. 2 (March–April 2017), pp. 38-41 http://www.jstor.org/stable/90005890 (accessed 1 May 2018)
[29] Patrick Brantlinger, Dark Vanishings: Discourse on the Extinction of Primitive Races, 1800-1930 (United States of America: Cornell University Press, 2003), p.2.

humanitarian attempts to protect indigenous peoples as misguided sentimentalism"[30], whilst amassing the spoils of conquest. The justification for amassing the spoils of colonial conquest formed the basis upon which the 'original sin' was committed in museums. The complicated history between museums and indigenous communities is tainted with these unsettling encounters as objects and mortal remains of these murdered indigenous peoples are still in museums, and remain classified in a colonial context.

This encounter between the indigene and the occident provide us with another dimension to the discourse on race and the production of the museological institution, it uncovers the fact that race both as a social construct and a prejudicial practice is far older than the 'modern museum'. Apart from its classical origins its Greek meaning "*mouseion*" which simply means the "seat of the Muses", according to Geoffrey D. Lewis "the word *museum* was again revived in 15th-century Europe to describe the collection of Lorenzo de' Medici in Florence, but the term conveyed the concept of comprehensiveness rather than denoting a building."[31] And "by the 17th century *museum* was being used in Europe to describe collections of curiosities."[32] Although the history of race is far older than the 'modern museum' as an institution, later on the museum had a central role in the construction and perpetuation of racism. In fact, without host institutions for the production of knowledge such as museums and universities, race would not have gained momentum and prominence, for museums

[30] Patrick Brantlinger, Dark Vanishings: Discourse on the Extinction of Primitive Races, 1800-1930 (United States of America: Cornell University Press, 2003), p.9.
[31] Geoffrey D. Lewis, History of Museums https://www.britannica.com/topic/history-of-museums-398827 (Accessed 21 April 2018)
[32] *Ibid*

made racism much more tangible through collections and displays about the 'vanquished'.

Nicolas Bancel et al, capture this sentiment when they argue that, "on the one hand, Europe, and to a lesser extent the US, played an important role in spreading ideas on the inequality of races and in the fate of institutions whose display practices furthered these theories."[33] And since the museological institution both in Europe and the United States was embroiled in the accumulation of human skulls for race "science", it would be naïve of us not to suspect that Bancel et al implicate museums as institutions responsible for 'spreading ideas on the inequality of races' among other things.

In their erudition, Bancel et al remind us that the history of the expansion of European empire informs us that, "thinking about these questions [museums and race construction] and the writings of anthropologists, ethnographers, and other naturalists influenced, often directly, the ways in which race was presented and displayed in museums, universal exhibitions, zoos, and even at fairs."[34] Even though as Tony Bennett argues that, "the concept of race allowed…[the colonial] philosophers to legitimise white supremacy in terms of innate biological characteristics and comparative cultural anthropology, thus giving racism 'scientific legitimacy'"[35], in this study I contend that without the involvement of what Bennett calls the "exhibitionary complex"[36] in

[33] Nicolas Bancel et al, The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representation (New York, Routledge, 2014), p.3.
[34] *Ibid.,* pp.3-4.
[35] Bernard M. Magubane, *Race and the Construction of the Dispensable Other* (South Africa: University of South Africa, 2007), p.8.
[36] seeTony, Bennet. The Birth of the Museum: history, theory, politics (USA & CANADA: Routledge, 1995), p.66.

museological institutions the outcome would have been different. I further argue that, the two museological forms of the Natural History and Anthropological museums provided the 'scientific justification' required by colonial practitioners to cement stereotypes about indigenous peoples in South Africa and probably other parts of the world. By examining ideas of the European 'Enlightenment' that preceded the establishment of the 'modern museum', I seek to investigate yet another presupposition which is the idea that these 'Enlightenment' theories were orchestrated under the auspices of the broader colonial project at whose core was the attempt to position white bodies as "leaders" of humankind, thus 'white supremacy' and justification of colonial conquest.

Underlying this argument, I locate yet another overarching presupposition which is the idea that although the colonial museum as argued by Gary Foley "existed in a political space defined from the imperial centre"[37], it took on a local distinctiveness that in South Africa involved the construction of race as the basis of colonial and apartheid rule based on the idea of 'white supremacy'[38] and its codification to preserve its power. In essence, the construction of the *modern museum* was aligned with the reification of race. To animate this point we turn to John M. MacKenzie who argue that, "the museum was created by an essentially European vision and was intended to feed the white gaze."[39] MacKenzie brings to our attention the fact that it is difficult if not

[37] Gary Foley, *The Enlightenment, Imperialism, and the Evolution of Museums* (2000) [online] http://www.kooriweb.org/foley/essays/essay_3html (Accessed 18 September 2011), p.3.
[38] see Vron Ware and Les Back in Out of Whiteness: Color, Politics, And Culture (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), p.5.
[39] John M. MacKenzie. Museums and Empire: Natural history, human cultures and colonial identities (Manchester and new York: Manchester University Press, 2009), p.5.

impossible to conceive of race and white supremacist notions without implicating the museological institution and neither can we talk about the museological institution outside of the framework of race based discourses in South Africa, in the historical context the one almost fed the other.

It is precisely as an outcome of the conducive environment created by the symbiotic relationship between the museological institution and race theories packaged as absolute 'truths' that the 'seed' of racism was geminated. The 'modern museum' as an institution established during the colonial conquest was brought into the complex web of the matrices of power to usurp, dominate, suppress and classify cultures of 'others', so as to justify their 'inferiority' to those who classified them as such. This argument forms the subject enquiry into understanding the modalities of race construction in South Africa's museological context. These modalities are reflected through practices that informed processes of collecting human subjects such as human remains to feed to notions of racial ideologies that led to racial schisms and ultimately fuelled political conflicts and genocide in southern Africa.

To understand the gravity of the underlying questions posed here, I use the South African Museum now "Iziko Museums of South Africa"[40] as a point of departure. As an institution built during South Africa's colonial era, the South African Museum is one of the oldest in South Africa and was established in 1825 by Lord Charles Somerset.

[40] Iziko Museums of Cape Town was renamed Iziko Museums of South Africa and this was published in the Government Gazette on the 14th of September 2012.

In locating the institutionality of the South African Museum within the grander grandiose idea of the British empire, it is not only by default, that I critically engage with museological 'DNA' that it carries and the centuries' long indelible colonial legacies that it exudes, but there is something else that deepens it into that coloniality of presence and that is its human remains collections. Before the construction of its current building in 1895, the museum had already acquired the human remains of the 'vanquished' native peoples, which seems to suggest that its involvement in race 'science' goes as far back as 1855, when Edgar Leopold Layard became the first curator of the museum after it was re-established with a board of trustees. Through Layard's account we are able to locate the earliest collections, which included among other things, human skulls, Ornithological collections, minerals, Mammalians series etc. I discuss this when I talk about the brief history of the South African Museum. The human casting project that began in 1906 added to the notions of race construction that had already taken shape in fifty-one years earlier in 1855 and one could argue that there was indeed a continuum.

The museum accumulated human skulls to further enhance colonial reasoning and ideologies of white 'supremacy' and perceived notions of black 'inferiority'. The circumstances under which these remains, objects and body casts were acquired were often unethical, and here I provide the reader with evidence of manuscript letters and records to corroborate a toxic collusion between the South African Museum, the colonial and later apartheid administrations. As the oldest museum in South Africa, the South African museum laid the strong foundation and set a precedent for other museums such as the Albany Museum in Grahamstown, Kimberly Museum in the Northern Cape to

also collect the remains of the native people for race 'science'. Therefore, the South African Museum became central to the process of race construction, which reverberated through anthropological collections and the politics of displays; and the focus of our institutional critique when it comes to the understanding the colonial legacy of the human remains collection. Not only this, but it must be remembered that it was this museum that made body casts of the San and Nguni people for race stereotypification in 1906 and these casts formed part of what was later known as the 'Bushman' diorama displays whose content is discussed quite expansively here.

I argue here that these dioramas reflected the ideas of the dominant culture as they created an impression of African people as people 'out of place' and locked in an unchanging historical timeline. Further to this, they also fed to the already existing ideas of race that were later constituted and formalized through apartheid policies in 1948. These displays and anthropological data that emerged created a nexus between the museological institution and the then apartheid state, in that they 'scientificized' and made tangible what would otherwise have remained a mere theoretical discourse. This symbiosis between the museum and the apartheid state is argued in this study to be the phenomenon that more than anything else gave 'voice', fuelled and sustained racist thought and thinking in South Africa. And this was achieved through ethnographic displays that have had impact on national policies and laws through which society was governed and administered.

In these carefully curated ethnographic displays, not only were you able to read about the 'animalization'[41] and 'savageness' and 'thingification' of black Africans, but you were able to see these race theories translated into physical dioramas and public displays with emphasis on the racial and cultural differences. The South African Museum's "Bushman Diorama" reinforced this 'thingification' in the manner in which it depicted those who were deemed 'lesser' beings; namely indigenous and native peoples of the African continent. It singled them out for a specific kind of political and cultural violence that would later provide justification for their 'nonhumanness', because through these dioramas the KhoiSan were depicted as subhumans, people outside of culture and savages. With all these racial undertones that are outlined in this study, there are people like Andrew Smith who saw the diorama as the "…superb casts"[42] that "…drew the most visitors (ask any of the older generation who went to the museum, and they will remember the Bushmen). Tour guides made special trips to show the exhibit to their clients"[43]

Though the popularity of the diorama was undeniable, but at whose expense was this achieved? And where do we draw the line between racial dogma and ethics? Because of these dehumanizing beliefs and practice, I argue that these dioramas were in fact a precursor to the later stages of cultural genocide that ensued. It is important to note that, at the time of the human casting project of in 1906, the KhoiSan communities in

[41] animalization. Dictionary.com Unbridged. Random House, Inc. http://www.dictionary.com/browse/animalization (accessed: June 09, 2016)
[42] Andrew Smith, 'It was a grave mistake to have got rid of Diorama at SA Museum https://www.iol.co.za/capetimes/opinion/it-was-a-grave-mistake-to-have-got-rid-of-diorama-at-sa-museum-10808629 (accessed 15 August 2017)
[43] *Ibid*

South Africa were already subject to physical genocide that started about two and half centuries earlier with the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652 and early colonial wars, ie. the Khoi-Dutch confrontation of 1659. And further to this, the "Khoisan-colonial contact between 1700 and 1770…"[44] which Nigel Penn discusses quite extensively in his thesis *The Northern Cape frontier Zone: 1700-c. 1815.* In the series of colonial attacks on the Khoi-San Penn mentions an incident among many where, "Afrikaner and his men had succeeded in killing 113 San and taking 20 prisoners in the vicinity of the Sak River."[45] These attacks played out in the battlefields and were also extended through museum displays.

These displays were dogmatic artefacts and pontifications of pseudo racial 'science' orchestrated by anthropologists, botanists, naturalists, physicians and other museum professionals who had taken these colonial theories into physical locus as displays in the natural history museum. It is in this context that Bernard Magubane helps us see the intersection between the colonial violence and museological displays when he argues that, the dehumanization of the African "…was in conformity with the laws of evolution theory and natural history. Any ideological crutch, from the Fall of Man to the kinship of Negro and ape, was used to justify the brutality of slavery."[46] Sociologically, race was constructed as Magubane puts it, "as a principal handmaiden to the slave trade and slavery"[47] And that "…it arose at the moment the advent of the Age of Europe and the beneficiaries of the fruits of merchant capital were confronted with the cruelties

[44] Nigel Garth Penn, The Northern Cape frontier Zone: 1700-c. 1815 (unpublished thesis) p.viii.
[45] Nigel Garth Penn, The Northern Cape frontier Zone: 1700-c. 1815 (unpublished thesis), p.340.
[46] Bernard M. Magubane, *Race and the Construction of the Dispensable Other* (South Africa: University of South Africa, 2007), p.26.
[47] *Ibid.,* p.5.

of degrading and reducing Africans into mere commodities"[48] and 'things' to be gazed upon. But this was not just slavery for there were processes of conquest and subjugation of entire nations.

In sociological terms as Magubane argues, "these racial theories, from the Renaissance and Enlightenment to the present, reflect the material interest of their class and obfuscate the truth about the nature of the bourgeois society"[49] and in Magubane's context the museum becomes the prism through which the dominant views of the ruling class are applied. This is the notion that finds expression in Moira G. Simpson, who sees museums as part of the colonial empire, "…serving a cultural elite…reflecting white values, and excluding from the interpretive process the very peoples whose cultures were represented in the collections."[50] By 'reflecting white values', to Simpson the museum defines itself as a project of whiteness and subjection of anything non-white and 'different'. Its research methods, processes of acquisition, interpretation, language on display cases, publications, knowledge production, preservation all factors that gravitate towards celebrating whiteness as a standard in the way that museums are produced. In this way, the museum speaks to white aspirations and affirms them as leaders of thought.

Whilst the empirical evidence presented here shows a clear connection between the use of these collections in the processes of racial 'othering' or what Stephen Jay Gould

[48] Bernard M. Magubane, *Race and the Construction of the Dispensable Other* (South Africa: University of South Africa, 2007), pp.5-6.
[49] *Ibid*,. pp.5-6.
[50] Moira G. Simpson, Making Representations: Museums in the Post-Colonial Era (Revised Edition) (USA & Canada: Routledge, 1996), p.9.

calls the “sins of science”[51], it is difficult to understand why there has not been wide-spread interdisciplinary public education and awareness programme. Due to the sensitivities around issues of ethics, any discussion on human remains and the legacy of apartheid has been exclusive and sometimes kept quiet in museums. This has largely led to the public being oblivious about the toxic collusion that has continued for almost two centuries between the museum and what may be called “apartheid raciology”.

What has happened is that discussions on these issues have only surfaced and resurfaced in exclusive elitist spaces such as museums and universites’ lecture halls that are carefully curated to benefit the few and not the broader populace, people on whom racial violation were committed. I argue here that this exclusivity has contributed to lack of public knowledge about the involvement of the museological institution in what has now been described as Crimes Against Humanity. This exclusivity is a problem because it perpetuates the idea that knowledge should be disseminated amongst the few so that society may not know the truth about the violations that have been committed on their ancestors.

I premise the idea of the museums’ crime against humanity on Bernth Lindfors’ argument when argues that, “the Age of Darwinism was a century of aggressive imperialism compounded by great biological confusion. One notion underlying the confusion was the belief that Africans were at least as close to the animal world as they

[51] see Stephen Jay Gould in The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, Histories and Infrastructures (eds) Derek R. Peterson et al. (USA: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p.135.

were to the human world, that they probably constituted the 'missing link' in the evolutionary chain between apes and men."[52] And that, "this 'animality' of Africans was the feature thought to set them apart from the more rational varieties of the human species. So when the unusual African specimens began to be displayed publicly in Europe and the United States, emphasis often was placed on the their kinship with animals"[53]

In his account, "Race and the Construction of the Dispensable Other", Magubane, takes the rationale of museum anthropologists as racial engineers even further to argue that "…given the unspeakable atrocities that were being perpetrated against the colonial subjects, anthropologists were in fact responsible for signing the death warrants of Africans, in general, and the Khoisan people in particular. It was left to the imperial armies to deliver the *coup de grace.*"[54] In other words, museums not only were central to the historical logic of race construction, but were also involved in genocidal acts targeted at black Africans, who were understood and represented to be occupying as Magubane puts it, "the bottom of the rung as the 'outcasts' of evolution."[55] As a result of their colonial affinity museums became unsafe places for those on whom the historical injustices and genocide were committed and the question that is further posed here is: how do we decolonize museums to become safe spaces for the vanquished in this century and beyond?

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[52] Bernth, Lindfors, Africans on Display: Studies in Ethnological Show Business (USA & South Africa: Indiana University Press, 1999), p.viii.
[53] Bernth, Lindfors, Africans on Display: Studies in Ethnological Show Business (USA & South Africa: Indiana University Press, 1999), p.viii.
[54] Bernard M. Magubane, *Race and the Construction of the Dispensable Other* (South Africa: University of South Africa, 2007), p.187.
[55] *Ibid.,* p.228.

As the museum drifted towards activities of race ‘science’ to make its mark in what has been termed as the ‘olympics of spectacle’, the dividing line between these two institutional forms (the museum and the state) became blurred as the agenda of the museum became the agenda of the apartheid state and the agenda of the apartheid state became that of the museum; each one fed the other. In other words whilst on one hand the apartheid state perpetuated the theory that blacks were ‘sub-humans’, the museological institution on the other made that race theory visible through the ethnographic displays, by displaying indigenous and native people in close proximity with animals in the natural history museum and by so doing it implicated itself in the project of racial ‘othering’.

Apart from the racialialization aspect, there was also the ‘tribalization’ of black South Africans to feed to apartheid ideology of separate development and to highlight this point I refer to Patricia Davison who notes that:

> "It was... to be... a reference study, and of course it is, but the categories that were chosen to work within were the very same categories that were eventually the divisions among the different groups in South Africa...in terms of homeland, in terms of segregation policy. These were the seven ethnic groupings, the language groupings of Southern Africa...that were used as the basis for separate development....Within the bigger apartheid system as a whole, the notion of

divide and rule was that if you had seven separate nations instead of one large African national group, it would be much easier to argue for White supremacy."[56]

What Davison brings to our attention is the fact that the tribal categories used in anthropological museums were also utilized by the nationalist government to entrench apartheid and white 'supremacy'. Apart from being sites of both racial and tribal polarization museums also became exclusive space, as John M. MacKenzie posits "Sometimes Africans were not welcome to enter the halls of these museums: what should have been portals to their own nationhood became closed doors behind which whites could inflict their spectatorial and objectifying gaze…"[57]

It is precisely the symbiotic nature of this relationship (museum and the apartheid state), predicated upon the notions of human 'progress' based on the idea that, "…reason could historically only come to maturity in modern Europe, while the inhabitants of areas outside Europe, who were considered to be of non-European racial and cultural origins, were consistently described and theorized as rationally inferior and savage"[58] as Chukwudi Eze argues. Based upon this presupposition, I further reason here that, to understand the genealogy of the processes of race construction, we equally need to comprehend the establishment of the colonial museum for the two are mutually bound and complicit in perpetuation of racism. This reciprocity between the museum and the

[56] Patricia Davison, Challenge and Transformation: Museums in Cape Town and Sydney http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001465/146553eo.pdf p 57 (accessed 30 March 2018)
[57] John M. MacKenzie. Museums and Empire: Natural history, human cultures and colonial identities (Manchester and new York: Manchester University Press, 2009)
[58] Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze, Race and the Enlightenment (USA: BLACKWELL Publishers, 1997), p.4.

construction of race is illustrated through what I would call "socio-museo-race"[59] construction [Fig.1] to give a visual representation of the essence of this research. This provides a theoretical framework and a tool of analysis through which we unpack the nuances of this study.

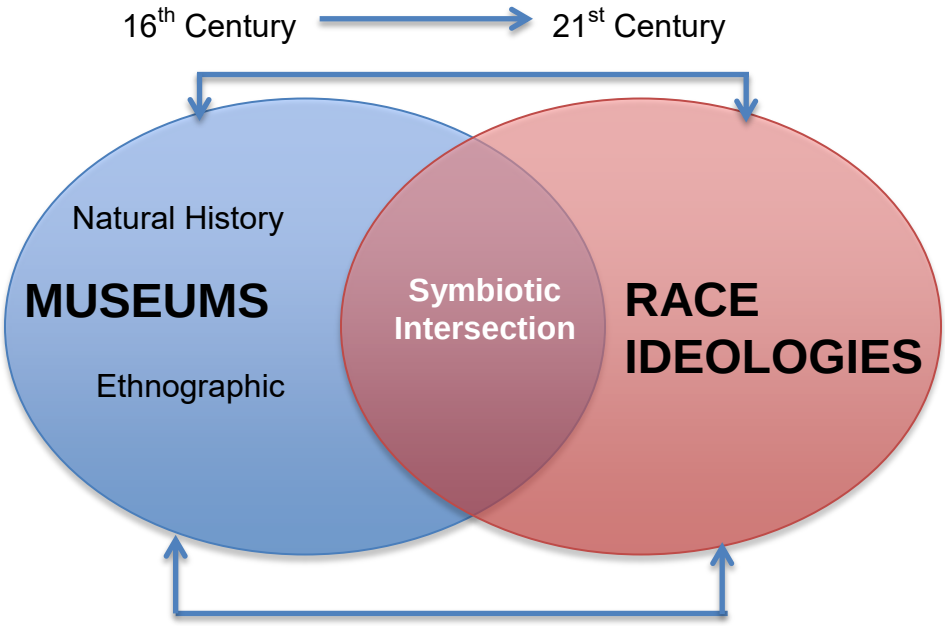

Fig. 1 Socio-Museo-Race Construction diagram conceptualized in this study to provide an overview of this research study. Designed by Wandile Kasibe

Whilst on one hand the 'socio-museo-race' diagram encapsulates and gives an overview of this study, on the other it helps us see how the established what Robin Cohen calls "corpus of shared knowledge and understanding"[60] is used to trace the genealogy of the construction of race and its heavily loaded political gaze, targeted at

[59] Is the term coined in this study to refer to the intersection between sociological and museological paradigms in the history of the construction of race in South Africa.
[60] Robin Cohen, etal. Peasants and Proletarians (United States of America: Hutchison University Library, 1979), p.7.

bodies who according to Bennett, were “dropped out of history altogether in order to occupy a twilight zone between nature and culture”[61]; namely indigenous and native peoples. Further to this it captures the chosen timeframe (16th to 21 Centuries) as it pulls us back to focus on the politics that inform the intersection between museums and the construction of race.

It is at that point of convergence between these two extremes that racism has been made to flourish in South Africa’s oldest museums and it is to that locus of symbiotic intersection illustrated through the diagram that the essence of this study finds its expression. Over and above issues of ethics and representation that are discussed here, the graph also helps us pose sociological questions in a museological context to uncover overlapping and interfacing sociological and museological paradigms. It helps us look into the interdisciplinarity of the subject to crystalize the connection between the two.

Though the meaning of museums may have evolved with the advent of democracy and human rights era, fundamentally the museum systems of classification, functionality and methods of research remain the same as in the 17th and 18th Centuries. They thus serve to undermine the advent of the human rights era. One such example is the 18th Century Linnean system of taxonomy that classifies objects and humans in the same way, thus disregarding the sensitivities around issues of identity and nomenclature. Linnaeus created a taxonomy of humans, which Hoquet describes as four stable races in “a clear tetrad: four great continental groups, four colors, four temperaments and four

[61] Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: history, theory, politics* (London: Routledge, 1995), p.77.

types of government." For example, Africans, characterized by Linnaeus as "black, phlegmatic and relaxed… governed by chance" while Europeans were "white, sanguine and muscular…. governed by laws."[62] And "finally, the classification will come to the genus (plural genera) and species. These are the names that are most commonly used to describe an organism. One outstanding feature of the Linnean classification system is that two names are generally sufficient to differentiate from one organism to the next. An example within the primate family is the genus *Homo* for all human species (for example, *Homo sapiens*) or *Pongo* for the genus of orangutan (for example, *Pongo abelii* for the Sumatran orangutan or *Pongo pygmaeus* for the Bornean orangutan)."[63] Through this system of classification and nomenclature, Linnaeus is able to combine both the human and animal kingdom with the name *Homo sapiens.* Furthermore, he is able to uniquely identify the humanspecies within the animal kingdom and this became the precusor for further black Africans being classified in animalistic terms as uncivilized, 'sub human' and barbaric. And the study of their human remains was used to justify these predespositions.

The presence of mortal remains and body casts, either 'ethically' or 'unethically' collected presents another dilemma for museums. The dilemma lies in the fact that, whilst on one hand the museum wants to 'decolonize' itself, on the other it finds itself being pulled back by its methods of research science, taxonomies and tools of analysis that are based in colonial continuities. The gravity and the implication of terms such as

[62] Thierry Hoquet, Biologization of Race and Racialization of the Human: Bernier, Buffon, Linnaeus in The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representations (eds) Nicolas Bancel et al. (New Yonrk & London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2014), p.26.
[63] Science Learning Hub, Classification System https://www.sciencelearn.org.nz/resources/1438-classification-system (accessed on 17 August 2018)

'research, science and taxonomies' cannot be taken lightly, more especially when we deal with the sensitivities around how indigenous and native people were subjects to all forms of racial 'science' and research in museums. To fully comprehend the controversial meaning of the term science when applied in the human 'subject', we turn to Linda Tuhiwai Smith, who argues that, "…the term 'research' is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism. The word itself, 'research', is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous word's vocabulary. When mentioned in many indigenous contexts, it stirs up silence, it conjures up bad memories, it raises a smile that is knowing and distrustful."[64] It is the foundation of this very practice of scientific racism in the museological context that this study seeks to investigate. In this study 'decolonization' is concerned with having as Carla Wilson and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, reason "a more critical understanding of the underlying assumptions, motivations and values that inform research practices."[65] I argue that what is understood as 'scientific' research in the museums' anthropological context is infact the perpetuation of colonial epistemology which has over centuries of colonial conquest centered white supremacy at the core of meaning making as the authority of the study of the indigenous and black 'other' and this process requires decolonial investigation.

By 'decolonization' I refer to a continuous critical process of intense inward looking examination to undo and 'delink' from the colonial past and I term this process as

[64] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples (London & New York: University of Otago Press, 1999), p.1.
[65] Carla Wilson, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples, 2001 <https://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/journals-and-magazines/social-policy-journal/spj17/17_pages214_217.pdf > (accessed 20 June 2017)

"Museumorphosis"[66] [Fig.2]. Here I put 'decolonization' in inverted commas, because of its ongoing definition and different meanings it implies to different people. Metaphorically, the museum becomes almost like a butterfly that goes through a process of metamorphosis: from egg, to larva, pupa and then full blown butterfly. In 'museumorphosis this logic takes the following form:

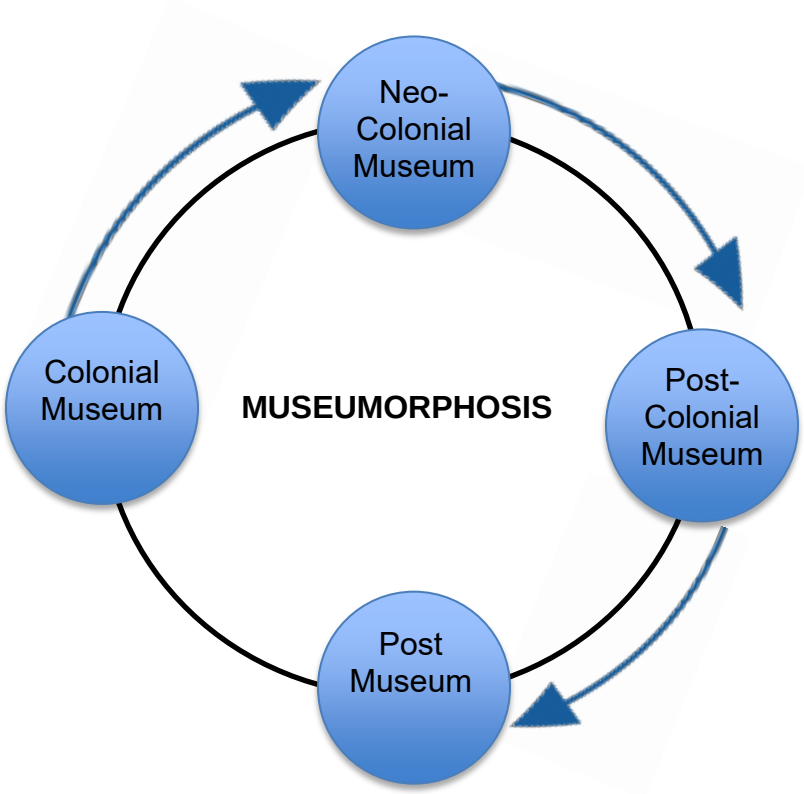

Fig. 2 Museumophorsis diagram to envision decolonization in museum. Diagram designed by Wandile Kasibe

Beyond internal contradiction and limitations of decolonization, 'Museumorphosis' presents decolonization as a rigorous process of complete rupture from the 'old' to create new ways of seeing and re-imagining museums. But this 'newness', becomes a daunting task for an institution whose very 'DNA' is intertwined with the colonial empire.

[66] Is the term coined up in this study to reflect a museological institution that is in the process of rethinking and repositiong itself to meet the demands of the 21st Century.

Whilst one could understand this difficulty for an institution such as the colonial museum, which was built to serve a narrow political agenda, it is difficult to accept the 'received wisdom' that museums are 'neutral' spaces untouched by the politics of their context. In fact, I demonstrate in this study through interrogation of evidence in the form of human remains collections, body casts, letters and other primary data that museums are a main source of political and racial conflicts perpetrated by governments and societies that have led to the loss of innocent lives, and that they must account for those lives. The human remains that are included as part of this discussion, are not used in a "scientific" sense, but included as evidence not in a subjective way, but to support the argument of this study.

Since we are making reference to the concept of the decolonization of museums, it is worth highliting at this point the fact that a specific question about whether or not should museums be decolonized was posed to the participants through a research questionnaire to solicit their views. The question that was posed and to which they (respondents) were asked to respond was: **"do you think Museums need to be decolonized?"** And their responses have to a large extent contributed to the framing of some aspects of this thesis.

Most of the respondents responded with a **"Yes"** to the question and others were not so sure about the meaning of decolonization itself and perhaps another question should have been asked about what their understanding of decolonization is. When I designed the questionnaire I took it presumable that all the respondents knew what is meant by

decolonization and for those who are familiar with the meaning of the term it was easy for them to answer this question but for others who were not it was not so easy for example Alan Morris asked the question back to me "Define 'decolonised' for me?"[67]

This question by the respondent has awoken me to the fact that, the meaning of decolonization cannot always be assumed particularly in the museological context where different interpretations can mean different things to different people and that the complex meaning of decolonization must always be explained and contextualized. Meaning that, whilst one would assume that decolonization as an antithesis of colonization, its meaning would always be easily comprehended in that dialectic context, but I have ascertained that this is not always the case.

To the respondents who answered **"Yes",** to the question, a further question was posed to them to establish ways in which museums can be decolonized. The following answers were given by the respondents, "Inclusion of everyone – giving all groups a voice, a past and a heritage that can be shared openly; revamping old style ways of sharing a population's heritage; contextualizing exhibitions appropriately; exposing bad science and showing how we are doing it differently today; curators being critical of their backgrounds, agency and biases; framing exhibitions scientifically if they are to remain in natural world spaces"[68]. Michelle Pressend submits that, "I think it can play a role in showing the destructive nature of Western universal society and ontology that was born out the ideas of enlightenment, modernity and progress. In particular the philosophy and

[67] Alan Morris, Questionnaire, 19 February. 2017.
[68] Wendy Black, Questionnaire, 2 February. 2017.

way of being that changed relation to earth as an organic living sphere to a machine for the extraction of human and natural resources"[69] According Michaela Clark, "Museums are remnants of our colonial past. They are steeped in colonial traditions of categorizing and displaying the exotic. And they continue to foster hierarchies in relation to who gets to collect, select, store, and display what and for whom"[70] To Winani Kgwatalala, "For African museum professionals to work hard towards decolonizing them so that they remain relevant to the local communities"[71] Kwatalala's argument finds expression Zandile Tshamlambo's observation of "An afrocentric approach to exhibitions and prioratizing African history"[72]

Sven Ouzman is of the view that, "museums should not be decolonized, they should be cosmopolitanised. In other words, we should not seek 'decolonisation' as an aim…I suggest by rather seeking to cosmopolitanised, you then have decolonization as a necessary part of that process but not an end goal. The end goal should be to have the museum in the service of society."[73] According to the Cambridge Dictionary cosmopolitanism refers to "containing or having experience of people and things from many different parts of the world…"[74] If cosmopolitan refers to different experiences and things from different part of the world, what does it mean in the context of a 'post-colonial museum? I want to think that it implies dispelling the myth that museums are 'neutral' spaces untouched by the politics of the era in which they operate. Further to

[69] Michelle Pressend, Questionnaire, 10 June. 2018.
[70] Michaela Clark Questionnaire, 10 April. 2018.
[71] Winani Kgwatalala, Questionnaire. 23 January. 2017.
[72] Zandile Tshamlambo, Questionnaire, 12 December. 2018.
[73] Sven Ouzman, Questionnaire, 16 March. 2018.
[74] Cambridge Dictionary, cosmopolitan https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/cosmopolitan (accessed 26 January 2019)

this, it means to locate the museological discourses at the 'heart' of global socio-museological conversations around inclusivity, access, change, human rights, justice, climate change, slavery, education, entertainment and many other discourses that shape modern thinking and museum making.

On the Decolonization of museums, the respondents proposed various ways in which the application of 'decolonization' as an anti-thesis of colonisation in museums may mean. I have illustrated [Fig.3] these different perspectives in the diagram below to give a broader sense of how the participants see decolonization:

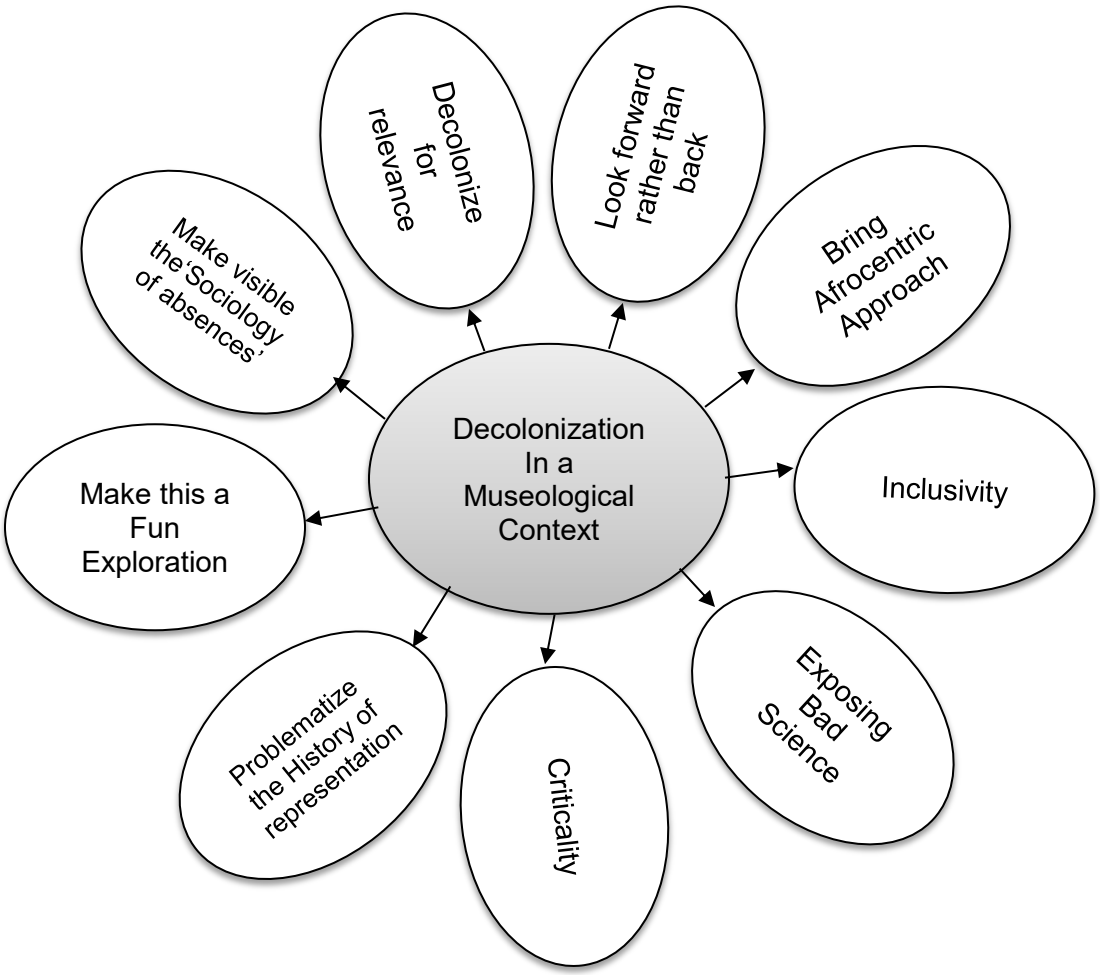

Fig.3 An illustration that highlights different ways in which respondents understand the meaning of decolonization in the museological context. Diagram by Wandile Kasibe

The combination of all of these perspectives point out to a need for museums to revisit their role in the 'post-colonial' society. In a 'post-apartheid' society such as South Africa, this means opening up a museological space to become a locus of cultural engagement and intergenerational dialogues, where interrogation of the past is part of our understanding the present and contemplation on the future. It also means enabling the museological institution to create necessary platforms to address the most complex issues that affect the South African society today. Though not mentioned in the responses from the respondents, it can however, be assumed that these complex issues include among others:

- The Land question
- Gender-based violence
- Crime
- Racism
- Institutionalized racism
- Decolonization
- Repatriation, Reparation, Restitution
- Education
- Poor Healthcare
- Sustainable agriculture
- Climate change
- Biodiversity
- Food security

- Political leadership
- Maladministration, inefficiency & corruption
- Sexuality
- ‘Fallism’ & Social movements
- Patriarchy
- Entrenched white ‘supremacy’
- High unemployment rate
- Energy shortage: load shedding and its effects on society
- Effects of Colonialism today
- Capitalism
- Inequalities
- Economic growth
- Struggles of the working class
- Slavery
- Human trafficking
- Migration
- Afrophobia
- Xenophobia
- Nation building, reconciliation and social cohesion
- Science
- ‘Culture wars’
- Cultural Diplomacy
- Religion

- Gentrification
- Fourth Industrial revolution: 4IR

And many other challenges that face society today.

What is being foregrounded here as a context is the argument that for the museum to be relevant and meet the needs of the 21st Century, it needs to transform and decolonize itself into becoming an instrument of social justice and change. It needs to be a place of reflection. The respondents see this change as: Afrocentrism, forward looking vision, ability to confront issues, cultural diversity, critically engaging representation and 'sociology of absences'. It suffices to suggest that for the museological institution to achieve this goal it must relinquish its self-given power and begin to work with communities who are the true custodians of both intangible and tangible cultural heritage.

Whilst it makes sense to look at cosmopolitan as the ultimate goal for a 'post-colonial' museum, but if the museum is not 'decolonized' or taken to task for its central role in the colonization of nations, what purpose would the cosmopolitan museum serve to those on who still suffer from the colonial legacies of the past? Who will it be cosmopolitan to and whose interest will it serve, if it rejects the 'decolonial' thinking as a theoretical framework to help address the colonial legacies that still shape society today? In the age of democracy, human rights and justice one can hardly achieve cosmopolitanism in museums without addressing the historical wrongs.

Whilst I hold a critical view on museums, I also believe that the same divisive potency that museums can in fact be transformed into becoming a tool for nation building and social cohesion. But for museums to act as beacons of active citizenship, they need to be transparent and honest about their colonial past and begin to confront the colonial practices upon which their 'museumness' is built. Further to this they need to look into the tainted collections and spoils of colonial loot, perhaps as not merely 'objects' of research, but as evidence of a crime that requires decolonial investigation and atonement.

Museums need to transparently look into the origin of their collections. Far from being 'neutral', I uncover cases of the disappeared, nameless and well known individuals whose skeletal remains were stolen from their graves, hospitals, execution sites and prisons, people whose skeletons are still held in limbo in the hidden storage vaults of museums.

As a response to this colonial baggage carried in the old museums, I echo Zenzile Khoisan's quest who said "…there needs to be a museums truth commission…"[75]. Zenzile calls for "The Museums Truth Commission", but I want to take Khoisan's call further and present to the academy a "Museum Truth, Repatriation & Restitution Commission or what is referred to here as the Museum TRRC. Built on the principle of full disclosure, I argue that the Museum TRRC presents a possibility for the museological institution to face its colonial legacies in the full glare of public scrutiny to

[75] Zenzile Khoisan, Museums and Decolonization video at a heritage conference organized by the Public Programmes Division of the Iziko Museums of South Africa on 23 September 2017.

restore trust between communities who are still aggrieved by the presence of their ancestors' human remains, body casts and sacred objects in museums.

The Museum TRRC as both a sociological and museological tool sharply invokes the interplay between the construction of race and establishment of the colonial museum in a way that helps us understanding how the museological institutions influenced laws of racial separation that South Africa's apartheid past was built on. Through its processes, of disclosure, the Museum TRRC would strategically deal with these museological crimes committed under colonialism and apartheid in an attempt to engender a process of national healing, historiral justice and the closure of a gory chapter in the history of anthropological and natural history museums in South Africa. More than anything else the Museum TRRC presents an alternative option for museums to disentangle and de-ethnographize themselves through an inward investigative process whose outcome will be that of transforming museums into 'liberating zones' in which the people are the creators of knowledge and museum content. Not only is the Museum TRRC a sine quanon to the 'birth' of the museum of the future, but it should also be a legally binding process to ensure that never again shall we repeat the perpetuation of the colonial and apartheid violence.

In seeking new trajectories in what remains the complicated set of networking ideas between the museological past and present continuities that have now sparked exigencies in museums and public spaces, I call on the marginalized voices to create new meanings in museological spaces, to bring forth the names of the nameless

peoples whose mortal remains were acquired under a discredited political process that has now been classified by the United Nations as the Crime Against Humanity.

1.2. DEFINITIONS

1.2.1 Indigenous

> "I define indigenous cultures, then, as cultures that have been transformed through the struggles of colonized peoples to resist and redirect project of settler nationhood"[76]

The term 'indigenous' is applied in this study to refer to the Khoekhoe, San or 'Bushmen' and Nguni peoples of southern Africa and neighbouring countries such as Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Lesotho. This term is used cautiously, fully aware of Linda Tuhiwai Smith's definition when she reasons that, "the term 'indigenous' is problematic in that it appears to collectivize many distinct populations whose experience under imperialism have been vastly different."[77] There are as she further argues, "other collective terms also in use that refer to 'First Peoples' or 'Native Peoples', First Nations' or 'People of the Land', 'Aboriginals' or 'Fourth World Peoples.'"[78] However, there are varying degrees of understanding of what it means to be indigenous and in the context of the conflict between the occidents and indigenous peoples, that 'indigeneity' has

[76] Jeffrey Sissons, First Peoples: Indigenous Cultures and their Futures (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2005), p.15.
[77] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples (London & New York: Zed Books Ltd, 1999), p.6.
[78] *Ibid.,* p.6.

always been associated with the precolonial geography and the carving of colonial borders that took place during the “Scramble for Africa” Berlin conference of 1884/85.

In South Africa, nativeness and indigeneity have taken different forms. According to Scott MacEachern, the first complication is that, “in a number of cases, African “tribes” were the (conscious or unconscious) creations of colonial administrators and professionals, including ethnographers, with other interests in colonial government”[79] and in the South African and African context the term ‘tribe’ has always been associated with the Bantu speaking groups and also extended to the Khoi and San and never with white European settler communities, for example I have never had of a white tribe in South Africa.

Though, “the term originated in ancient Rome, where the word *tribus* denoted a division within the state”[80], in Africa, however, it was used as a colonial tool by colonizers to fragment the African masses for political gains and this is not to suggested that there were no groups before the arrival of the colonizing powers, but there is no evidence to suggest to us that before the west, Africans saw themselves through the same tribal lens that was later superimposed on them by Europe and the West.

In his account “The Ideology of ‘Tribalism’”, Archie Mafeje, alludes to this to argue that, “European colionialism, like any epoch brought with it certain ways of reconstructing the

[79] Scott MacEachern, Genes, Tribes, and African History in Current Anthropology Volume 41, Number 3, June 2000 https://www.researchgate.net/publication/12278428_Genes_Tribes_and_African_History (accessed 20 April 2018)
[80] The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, Tribe: Anthropology https://www.britannica.com/topic/tribe-anthropology (accessed 20 April 2018)

African reality. It regarded African societies as particularly tribal. This approach produced certain blinkers or ideological predispositions which made it difficult for those associated with the system to view these societies in any other way."[81] To Mafeje the nomenclature of tribalism was used by the European colonialists to fix the African 'subjects' in unchanging timelines of stagnation and none progress. For he argues that, "in many instances the colonial authorities helped to create the things called 'tribes' in the sense of political communities; this process coincided with and was helped along by anthropologists' preoccupation with 'tribes'."[82] To Mafeje, "this provided the material as well as the ideological base of what is now called 'tibalism'"[83]

There may be other 'pre-colonial' terminologies that African people from their diversity may have used to refer to other African groups that was not as politically divisive and polysemous as the term 'tribe'. For example, Jeff Peires argues that, "the meaning and origin of the word 'Xhosa' is uncertain, but in the Khoi language there is the word '//kosa' which is given to mean 'angry men'"[84], so if we accept the genesis of the term "Xhosa" as having derived from the Khoi word '//kosa', then we can understanding this logic to be suggesting to us that to the Khoi, the very perception that Xhosa people appear to be angry people becomes a distinguishing factor that presents that "Xhosaness" as a marker not to divide but to hold them to high esteem. And it would be this very Xhosaness that the West would use as a 'tribal' signifier to separate Xhosas from the rest of the other African groups.

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[81] Archie Mafeje, The Ideology of Tribalism The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Aug., 1971), pp. 253-261 https://www.jstor.org/stable/159443 (accessed 17 August 2018)
[82] *Ibid*
[83] *Ibid*
[84] Jeff Peires, The House of Phalo (Johannesburg and Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 1981), 18

In South Africa, however indigeneity has also been claimed by white settler communities such as the Afrikanners who cut off ties which Europe when they arrived in Southern Africa. It is to this claim by the offspring of the white settle communities that Smith responds to when she argues that indigeneity "…has been coopted politically by the descendants of settlers who lay claim to an indigenous' identity through their occupation and settlement of land over several generations or simply through being born in that place…"[85] The irony of the situation is that, "their linguistic and cultural homeland is somewhere else, their cultural loyalty is to some other place. Their power, their privilege, their history are all vested in their legacy as colonizers"[86] and this is precisely what complicates the matter.

But for the purpose of the argument foregrounded by this enquiry, we will suspend these complexities and use the terms indigenous and native in their classic sense to refer to Robyn-Leigh Cedras' category whis is, "…Bushman/Bushmen, San, Khoi, Bantu, Hottentot and Khoisan, or in the specific sense, such as /Xam, Ju/'hoansi, ≠Khomani San…"[87] This we do to make a clear and necessary political distinction between "Black"[88] Africans and "White"[89] European settler communities.

[85] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples (London & New York: Zed Books Ltd, 1999), p.7.
[86] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples (London & New York: Zed Books Ltd, 1999), p.7
[87] Robyn-Leigh Cedras, 'The Halls of History: The Making and Unmaking of the Life-casts at the Ethnography Galleries of the Iziko South African Museum' (Unpublished M Phil thesis, University of Cape Town), p.10.
[88] The term is being used broadly and specifically to refer to non-whites groups of African descent
[89] The term is being used to refer to whites of European ancestry

1.2.2 Human Remains

The dedifinition of the human remains is drawn from the Iziko Museums of South Africa's Policy on the Management of Human Remains in Iziko Collections where it 'refers to the physical remains of *Homo*. These human remains include:

a) complete human skeletons, partial human skeletons or isolated human skeletal elements and
b) soft human tissue"[90]

1.2.3 Unethical Collecting

a) Collecting human remains solely for purposes of racial study
b) Collecting without appropriate connsent, human remains from recent graves of individuals who were known in life, or were from know communities."[91]

1.2.4 Repatriation

The term originated from late Latin (1605 – 1615) word "repatriatus (past participle of repatriare to return to ones fatherland, equivalent to Latin re-re + patri(a) native country

[90] Iziko Museums of South Africa, Policy on the Management of Human Remains in Iziko Collections, approved 29 September 2005, p.2.
[91] Iziko Museums of South Africa, Policy on the Management of Human Remains in Iziko Collections, approved 29 September 2005, p.3.

(noun use in feminine of patrius paternal, derivative of pater father) + -atus -ate" It means "to bring or send back…"[92]

1.2.5 Colonial Crime Scene

In the context of this study, the colonial crime scene refers to either the natural history or anthropological museum as tainted spaces in which acts of racial violence were performed through the practice of scientific racism. It is signified by the presence of unethically acquired human remains, de-humanizing and tribalizing ethnographic displays aimed at maintaining the colonial idea of white supremarcy.

1.2.6 Crimes Against Humanity

This refers to specific crimes of genocide in which the two museological forms (natural history and anthropological museum) were directly involved. These crimes include among others, grave robbing, stealing and ellicit trade in human remains to maximize profit, the measuring of mortal remains for racial 'science', hunting down of indigenous people for 'science' trophies and museum collections and many other activities that acted as a precursor to genocide. The museum was not an innocent bystander, but directly participated in these elicit activities through its anthropologists and curators.

[92] English dictinary, repatriate https://www.dictionary.com/browse/repatriation [accessed 7 May 2018]

1.2.7 Decolonial Investigation

Refers to a rigorous process of critical inquiry, complete overhaul and permanent dismantling of the colonial institutionality of the modern museum in order to create a 'new' museum of the future. Decolonial investigation is a method that invites an approach that is more investigative as it frames the museum as a site of crime, thus encourages the participants to be investigators as oppossed to being passive recipients of knowledge produced in museums. It is also a critical tool on analysis that seeks to uncover the undpoken silences about the condition of this tainted 'material' in museums today.

1.2.8 'Fallism'

"Fallism" is associated with the emergence of the Rhodes Must Fall Movement which was born on 9 March 2015 when Chuman Maxwele threw human excrement at the statue of Cecil John Rhodes at the University of Cape Town (UCT). It is a critical response and an institutional critique to a systemic repression of colonial violence enthrenched in our society today. It also acts a tool of analysis that presents a paradigm shift in a political zeitgeist that calls for change in institutions of knowledge production such as universities and museums. 'Fallism' extends to critique current societal structures and ideologies to question whether they should "Fall".

In the broader context of the battle of ideas, "Fallism" has intellectual roots in critical theory, decolonial reasoning towards realising critical pedagogy, praxis and alternative

for the oppressed. According to Christian Fuchs critical theory is defined in sociological terms as "an approach that studies society in a dialectical way by analysing political economy, domination, exploitation and ideologies"[93] and "from the first, expressed an explicit interest in the abolition of social injustice"[94] In its true function, critical theory questions "all thought and practices that uphold domination and exploitation"[95] and critiques ideology that attempts to essentialize ways of human existence which are actually "historical and changeable"[96].

In a nutshell, as Fuchs further reasons, "critical theory is not a system nor is it reducible to any fixed set of prescriptions"[97] but "…is connected to struggles for a just and fair society, it is an intellectual dimension of struggles."[98] It draws on Marxist thought, which rejects philosophy as static "the philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it."[99] It is precisely at the core of this call for structural change that "Fallism" as a 'decolonial' tool finds its perfect expression.

[93] Christian Fuchs, Critical Theory, In: The International Encyclopedia of Political Communication, First Edition. Edited by Gianpietro Mazzoleni. John Wiley & Sons, Inc. 2015.
[94] Stephen Eric Bronner, Of Critical Theory And its Theorists (USA & UK: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), p.3.
[95] Christian Fuchs, Critical Theory, In: The International Encyclopedia of Political Communication, First Edition. Edited by Gianpietro Mazzoleni. John Wiley & Sons, Inc. 2015.
[96] Christian Fuchs, Critical Theory, In: The International Encyclopedia of Political Communication, First Edition. Edited by Gianpietro Mazzoleni. John Wiley & Sons, Inc. 2015.
[97] Stephen Eric Bronner, Of Critical Theory And its Theorists (USA & UK: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), p.2.
[98] Christian Fuchs, Critical Theory, In: The International Encyclopedia of Political Communication, First Edition. Edited by Gianpietro Mazzoleni. John Wiley & Sons, Inc. 2015.
[99] Karl Marx, Theses on Feuerbach (USSR: Progress Publishers, 1845), p.xi.

1.3 LIMITATIONS AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This study is neither about the isolated history of museology or sociology nor the statistical account on historical origins of race or racism per se, but rather about how museums were coopted into the racializing discourses to feed to the idea of the 'inferiority' of Africans and perceived 'superiority' of Europeans. For example, the study discusses the construction of race to show how it became part of the museological content and how that content began to define the meaning of museums in a colonial context. Much more in-depth studies have been conducted on the subject of tracking the genetics of different group to give sense of the origins of human variations and genome and these are 'purely' scientific deliberations that this study is not concerned about. The incorporation of the human remains into the discussion is not from a scientific point of view either, but I have incorporated these remains to expose these historical wrongs and also as evidence to corroborate the argument foregrounded through this thesis.

The study discusses literature work from specific authors whose work has helped made the link between museums and the construction of race ideologies. There are many authors and historical accounts such as the "Code Noir/Black Code of 1685", bell hooks, Paul Gilroy and many others whose work has not been discussed here, due to the scope and specificity of the research. The content of the work of these authors has somehow been either directly or indirectly covered through the body of work of other authors whose work has been extensively discussed in this thesis.

Due to its limitations and scope the thesis does not cover all the South African museums and other museums in different parts of the world, but rather focuses for example on the South African Museum now Iziko Museums of South Africa as a point of departure into understanding the symbiosis between museums and the construction of race ideologies in South Africa. Within the South African Museum's museological context it does not discuss the nitty gritty of the history of collections that make up the museum and the process of labelling, what the study does, however, it looks into the socio-political underpinnings that continue to shape what the museum has become and what should be its role and responsibilities now.

Though the study bases its language on the 'decolonial' reasoning to which it refers as the Philosophy of 'Fallism', its rationale is not about writing the story of the Rhodes Must Fall Movement, but it rather uses the 'Fallist' logic to justify why museums should be 'decolonized' and brought to book for their involvement in the gross human rights violations of accumulating the mortal remains for race 'science', thus implicating themselves in crimes against humanity.

The study does not discuss the obvious case of Sarah Baartman who as Pippa Skotnes and others remind us, "'Hottentot Venus', Saartjie Baartman, whose continued presence in the *Musée* de L'Homme in Paris...[was] being made a symbol of oppression and an important part of the politics of identity in South Africa today"[100], but it rather makes reference to her haunting narrative. The main reason for this decision is not to ignore

[100] Pippa Skotnes (ed.), Miscast:Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen (ed) Pippa Skotnes (Cape Town: UCT Press, 1996), p.17.

the story of Baartman, but is purely on the basis of being limited by word count and the intention to rather focus on less known individuals such as Ota Benga.

1.4 OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

1.4.1 Chapter One

This chapter gives an overview of the study and explains its methodology. It introduces us to concepts and perpectives that the study seeks to adopts in order to achieve its objectives. In this chapter we are introduced to concepts such as 'museo-race' construction, 'museumorphosis' and 'falliological lens' to signify the polysemous nature of the subject in question.

1.4.2 Chapter Two

In this chapter, we then turn to the museum and how it became embroiled in the construction of race. To animate this we first look into the genesis of the concept of the museum, its cabinet of curiosities and how voyages and voyagers contributed to the stereotypes created through processes of colonial conquer and dispossession.

This chapter also traces the activities of human remains collection in South Africa and neighbouring countries such as the then South West-Africa, now Namibia to

substantiate the claim that museums have long beein embroiled in race making processes and racial violence.

1.4.3 Chapter Three

In this part of the study, we briefly look into the history of the South African Museum (SAM) and its role during the colonial and apartheid eras and also controversies that emanated from the construction of the notorious 'Bushmen Diorama'. In understanding these controversies, we turn our focus on what Bennet terms as "exhibitionary complex"[101] of dioramas, human zoos and accumulation of cranial material as evidence of colonial crimes committed in the name of 'science'. As part of the discussion, I weave through the arguments and the sensitivities around the acquisition of human remains, body casts in the South African Museum in 1906 and the Albany museum in 1910. I link the acquisition of these remains to the global colonial enterprise whose activities were undertaken to cement notions of race and racism throughout the empire – from the centres of power to the colonies. This chapter also reflects on the performative intervension that was initiated to directly respond to the sensitivities around the ethnographic gallery of the South African Museum.

[101] seeTony, Bennet. The Birth of the Museum: history, theory, politics (USA & CANADA: Routledge, 1995), p.66.

1.4.4 Chapter Four

The chapter follows the narratives of Sara (Saartje) Baartman, El Negro “Object 1004” and Ota Benga “the Congolese Pygmy” as critical examples among many cases of black Africans whose bodies were dehumanized associated with monkeys in an effort to justify racism in its global context. This chapter also looks at few examples of how racism still manifests in society today and as such we look at recent events.

1.4.5 Chapter Five

Having interrogated the genealogy of race in the museological production and its effect on society today, I then look into different ways of thinking about museums and their ‘museumness’ in the post-colony. A de-colonial approach applied under the auspices of what has been termed the ‘Philosophy of Fallism’, a decolonial institutional critique and an underpinning tool of analysis aimed at reconfiguring the role of museums in the ever changing “post-colonial” environment. Within the rubric of the ‘Fallist’ paradigm the study proposes what it terms as the Museum Truth, Repatriation and Restitution Commission (MuseumTRRC) to help uncover what it terms as crimes against humanity. This it does to help spark processes of complete disclosure, societal healing, reconciling and coming to terms with the colonial legacies embedded in the fabric of museums – this captures the meaning of Fallism?

1.4.7 Conclusion

The conclusion encapsulates and reflects on the research and as well as stating the answer to the hypothesis posed by the study. It also contains recommendations and other questions that could be taken further for future scholarly engagement on the topic. It is also here that I highlight new areas of scholarly inquiry uncovered by the thesis.

1.5 METHODOLOGY

1.5.1 Literature Review, Questionnaires, Qualitative interviews, Manuscripts, Performative Intervention and Other Sources

The main reference source for this thesis is drawn from a review of current literature, theory, interviews conducted, questionnaires, archival material in the form of manuscripts documents such as letters, unpublished theses, exhibition material, performances and conference proceedings. I conducted an interview with David Hunt from the Smithsonian Institution about the five human remains that were stolen from their graves in Port Alfred and then sent to the Smithsonian in 1911 from the Albany Museum in Grahamstown now called Makanda. The second interview that I conducted was with Daniel A. Gross in New York to talk about the Felix von Luschan collection linked to the Namibian skulls found at the Museum of Natural History in New York. The third interview was with David Morris at the McGregor Museum in Kimberley.

These sources are quoted verbatim to provide insight into the original arguments: museums as colonial crime scenes that require decolonial investigation and the need for a Museum Truth, Repatriation and Restitution Commission (MuseumTRRC) to deal with this colonial archive so as to enable a process of healing and closure of a painful chapter in the history of museum making in South Africa.

1.6 My Positionality in Relation to the Research Study

The critical interrogation of the colonial legacy of museums is a subject that is very close to my heart particularly the sensitivities around the presence of human remains in museums. This justifies my style of writing for example I alternate between first person singular and third person singular voices to locate myself within the narrative. This is demonstrated in instances where I express my own personal encounters of being denied access into the collection, my travel to the United States to track Ota Benga and many other examples where I have wtitten in the first person.

2.0 CHAPTER TWO

2.1 THE SOCIOLOGY OF MUSEUM MAKING: WHAT IS A MUSEUM?

> "Museums are being asked to assume new roles and develop new ways of working – in general, to clarify and demonstrate their social purpose and more specifically to reinvent themselves as agents of social inclusion."[102]

> "To understand these issues we need to ask deeper questions about the nature of the museum as an institution, about its institutional history, in particular the birth of the modern museum in the 19th century. We also need to understand how the concept of museum is changing, and how perhaps the possibilities of the post-museum are being inaugurated."[103]

Let us start from the beginning by posing an elementary and yet fundamental question: **What is a museum?** For the purposes of continuity, this question becomes important, for we cannot assume that the meaning of a museum is always known, particularly if you consider its evolving interpretations over time. To fully understand how race was constructed through the museological institution where notions of heredity and intelligence were qualified with little attention to the inherent systematic violence of the

[102] Richard Sandell, *Museums as Agents for Social Change*, 2000 <http://scholar.google.co.uk/scholar?q=Richard+Sandell+Museums+and+social+inclusion&hl=en&as_sdt=0&as_vis=1&oi=scholart> [accessed 9 October 2011].
[103] Ciraj Rassool, 'Museums & Democracy: whose representing whom?' (unpublished paper 2nd February 1997).

practice, we need to address the question of the "museum-ness" of the museum itself, and recreate its historical context.

What is a museum? The answer is twofold: firstly it looks into the genesis of the term 'museum' itself and secondly it interrogates the functionality of the museum, as an institution of knowledge production, with its evolving politics in space, place and time. To leave the museological question out of the equation will be a misdiagnosis of what led us to where we are today in terms of race relations and entrenched hegemonies that play out as an outcome of the perpetuated race dichotomies in South Africa and elsewhere in the world.

We answer this fundamental question through literature review on museums, specific study cases and research questionnaires from the respondents.

According to the 2001 International Council of Museums' (ICOM) definition, 'adopted by the 22nd General Assembly (Vienna, Austria, 24 August 2007'[104], "a museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment."[105] It is also through the lens of ICOM that we understand the fact that, "the definition of a museum has evolved, in line with developments in society.

[104] International Council of Museums, **Development of the Museum Definition according to ICOM Statutes (2007-1946)** http://archives.icom.museum/hist_def_eng.html (accessed 1 April 2018)
[105] International Council of Museums, Museum Definition http://icom.museum/the-vision/museum-definition/ (accessed 1 April 2018)

Since its creation in 1946, ICOM updates this definition in accordance with the realities of the global museum community."[106] Decades later "in the aftermarth of the 2016 ICOM General Conference in Milan, a new Standing Committee has been appointed to study the current definition. The Committee on Museum Definition, Prospects and Potentials (MDPP, 2017-2019) explores the shared but also the profoundly dissimilar conditions, values and practices of museums in diverse and rapidly changing societies. Combining broad dialogue across the membership with dedicated expert for a, the committee is addressing the ambiguous and often contradictory trends in society, and the subsequent new conditions, obligations and [possibilities for museums"[107]

At 25th ICOM Geneneral conference held in Japan, Kyoto, 1-7 September 2019, "ICOM invited its members, committees, partners and other interested stakeholders to participate in the development of potential alternatives for the museim definition…"[108]. The new proposed definition reads as follows:

> "Museums are democratising, inclusive and polyphonic spaces for critical dialogue about the pasts and the futures. Acknowledging and addressing the conflicts and challenges of the present, they hold artefacts and specimens in trust for society, safeguard diverse memories for future generations and guarantee equal rights and equal access to heritage for all people.

[106] International Council of Museums, Museum Definition http://icom.museum/the-vision/museum-definition/ (accessed 1 April 2018)
[107] ICOM, The Extraordinary General Conference postpones the vote on a new museum definition, https://icom.museum/en/news/the-extraordinary-general-conference-pospones-the-vote-on-a-new-museum-definition/ (accessed 8 September 2019)
[108] ICOM, Creating the New Museum Definition: Over 250 Proposals to Check out! https://icom.museum/en/news/the-museum-definition-the-backbone-of-icom/ (accessed 6 September 2019)

> Museums are not for profit. They are participatory and transparent, and work in active partnership with and for diverse communities to collect, preserve, research, interpret, exhibit, and enhance understandings of the world, aiming to contribute to human dignity and social justice, global equality and planetary wellbeing"[109]

And "after a profound and healthy debate among ICOM members, the Extraordinary General Assembly has decided to postpone the vote on the new museum definition. The decision gathered 74,41% votes in favour."[110] This global discussion to review museum definition does point to the fact that the meaning of the museum is changing and simulteneously finding expression in different communities around the world and therefore cannot be fixed within the rubric of a singular narrative.

As a point of departure we ask the question: what are these realities of the global museum community around which the meaning of a museum evolves?

To answer this question Moira G. Simpson, argues that, *the museum is* 'the cabinet of curiosities', is the store room of a nation's treasures, providing a mirror in which are reflected the views and attitudes of dominant cultures in which museums are situated."[111] Simpson's argument should be understood within a historical context of the

[109] International Council of Museums, Museum Definition https://icom.museum/en/activities/standards-guidelines/museum-definition/ (accessed 6 September 2019)

[110] ICOM, The Extraordinary General Conference postpones the vote on a new museum definition, https://icom.museum/en/news/the-extraordinary-general-conference-pospones-the-vote-on-a-new-museum-definition/ (accessed 8 September 2019)

[111] Moira G. Simpson, Making Representations: Museums in the Post-Colonial Era second edition (London & USA: Routledge, 1996), p.1.

expansion of the colonial empire and global dominance. And if museums as argued by Simpson, "reflected the views and attitudes of dominant cultures", a further question must be asked: whose views and attitudes have been the dominant feature in the colonial and global political context?

It may have been as an outcome of interrogating the colonial history of museums that may have prompted John M. MacKenzie to argue that, "the museum was created by an essentially European vision and was intended to feed the white gaze"[112]. In this passage MacKenzie posits the sense that, it's difficult to conceive of the 'modern museum' outside the matrices of power, history of the construction of race and white supremacists of 'superiority' and 'inferiority'. In his account "Museums and Empire", MacKenzie draws from the vast body of scholarship and material that has been produced to crystalize the link between colonial expansion and the establishment of the modern museum. He does this by bringing to our attention the fact that, "the museums' intellectual framework, its collecting habits, and so many of its methods were closely bound up with the nature and practices of imperialism."[113]

MacKenzie's presupposition of the museum as an extension of the colonial empire finds expression in the responses of the respondents who responded to the question that was posed to them through a research questionnaire: **"Do you think museums are extensions of the colonial empire and later apartheid rule in South Africa?"** In her

[112] John M. MacKenzie. Museums and Empire: Natural history, human cultures and colonial identities (Manchester and new York: Manchester University Press, 2009), p.5.
[113] John M. MacKenzie. Museums and Empire: Natural history, human cultures and colonial identities (Manchester and new York: Manchester University Press, 2009), p.4.

response, Michaela Clark states that "they [museums] originated from a colonial mindset of travelling, collecting, interpreting, and putting on display. Their architecture, method of presentation, classification, and bestowing value all originate from colonial discourses"[114] Her argument in this passage follows a similar line of thinking with that of Michelle Pressend's who reasons that, "Museums emerged as part of the western scientific revolution and provide a colonial interpretation of the past"[115] and this sentiment also comes through quite strongly in Zandile Tshamlambo's response who argues that "they [museums] privilege colonial history"[116]

To Allan Morris, "the museums of South Africa attempted (and continue to attempt) to reflect local interests and to emphasise things South African. Therefore they reflected South Africa and not the colonial empire and apartheid."[117] And he further comments that, "Museums mirror the society in which they were placed. For South Africa between the 1920's and 1960's, the sociological background of union and apartheid was unavoidable. Staff appointments were race-based."[118]

In these passages the respondents almost agree on a common factor that indeed museums have in one way or the other a connection to the colonial past or what Sven Ouzman calls "umbilical linkage to their origin point…"[119]. It is difficult to dissagree with MacKenzie, Clark, Pressend, Morris, Tshamlambo and Ouzman, especially if you look

[114] Michaela Clark Questionnaire, 10 April. 2018.
[115] Michelle Pressend, Questionnaire, 10 June. 2018.
[116] Zandile Tshamlambo, Questionnaire, 12 December. 2018.
[117] Alan Morris, Questionnaire, 19 February. 2017.
[118] Alan Morris, Questionnaire, 19 February. 2017.
[119] Sven Ouzman, Questionnaire, 16 March. 2018.

deeply into the socio-political, cultural and religious effects of colonialism in places such as the United States, Canada, British colonies, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa and how the establishment of the mainstream museums of natural history and anthropology were almost intertwined with the colonising and 'modernizing' mission, where for example the objects, 'live' human 'specimens', human remains and body casts of the vanquished communities were displayed as an indication of conqure and dominance. Whilst the 'modern' museums meant 'modernity' to some, to indingenous communities who saw themselves being dehumanized and posited as source of scientific studies for race science, it meant shame and disgrace. It is perhaps this ambiguity of 'modernity', shame and colonial guilt that the 'modern' museum carries into the 21st Century to signal the fragility of meaning and what it does when subjected to interpretations.

Since the dawn of the 'post-colonial' human rights era, the "winds" of change in the global political landscape have forced mainstream natural history and athropological museums, particularly those with a colonial bagage to re-consider their practice if they are to find expression in the new museological discourses on ethics and the restoration of human dignity. Simpson, captures this transition succinctly when she observes that, "museums are changing in many ways: their image as dusty, stuffy, boring and intimidating storehouses is slowly giving way to recognition that museums can be authoritative without being definitive; inclusive rather than exclusive; exciting, lively and entertaining while still being both scholarly and educational."[120]

[120] Moira G. Simpson, Making Representations: Museums in the Post-Colonial Era second edition (London & USA: Routledge, 1996), p.5.

Considering the well structured and indepth colonial history of the 'modern' museum throughout the world, it would be naïve of us to assume that this seemingly global anti-imperialistic and anti-colonial consciousness that is advocating for change in museum's behavioral practice, is just a spontaneous reaction to the consequences of the colonial legacies that still affect people's lives today. Our failure to locate this quest for change in the museum making processes to see it as part of an ongoing broader new meaning making process whose genesis emanates from the idea to 'decolonize' museums, will hinder progress and prohibit us from seeing the possibility of a "post-colonial" museum. But what does decolonization mean when the epistemological foundations of the 'modern' museum are still very much colonial? And can we talk of a post-colonial museum in a colonial context? What does it mean to shift a museological institution from being a colonial citadel to being the museum of the 21st Century? And to draw from Shelley Ruth Butler's observation, what are the "critical, reflexive museology's efforts to decolonise museums[?]"[121]

These are questions that are annimated through indepth discussions that are taking place in different parts of the world as the evolving meaning of museums is being put to public scrutiny. Simpson records that "in Europe, as in North America, Australia and New Zealand, the plurality of contemporary, post-colonial society gives rise to complex issues in relation to museums: display and interpretation, the classification and values attached to objects; cultural bias in representing other cultures, the lack of

[121] Shelley Ruth Butler, The Politics of Exhibiting Culture: Legacies and Possibilities https://issuu.com/cca.uct/docs/politics_of_exhibiting_cultures (accessed 2 April 2018)

representation of cultural diversity in local history collections; demand for self-representation and self-expression."[122]

She further observes that, "increasingly vocal expressions of dissatisfaction with conventional museological and interpretive methods have resulted in pressures being brought to bear upon museum curators to adopt more inclusive practices. This dissatisfaction has been demonstrated more forcefully in a series of confrontations over the past thirty to forty years."[123] This is the view that finds expression in Steven C. Cubin's argument that, "..displays of power represent both action and reaction."[124] It is this action and reaction that transpired in exhibitions such *Harlem on My Mind* in 1969, where black artists in Harlem felt excluded in an exhibition that was meant to represent their cultural expression and this exclusion resulted in a protest and public uproar which led to the closer of the exhibition.

Whilst in Canada in 2016, the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) apologized for "Into the Heart of Africa" exhibition that was opened in 1989 and as Jackie Hong states "among the criticisms was that the exhibit glorified colonialism and those partaking in it while not fully exploring the damage it inflicted Africa and Africans; that it reinforced harmful stereotypes about Africans by using descriptions such as 'barbarous people' and 'savage customs' in the text accompanying displays, and that illustrations, including a

[122] Moira G. Simpson, Making Representations: Museums in the Post-Colonial Era second edition (London & USA: Routledge, 1996), p.2.
[123] Moira G. Simpson, Making Representations: Museums in the Post-Colonial Era second edition (London & USA: Routledge, 1996), p.2.
[124] Steven C. Cubin, The Postmodern Exhibition: Cut on the bias, or is Enola Gay a verb?, in Museums and their Communities, ed. by Sheila Watson (USA & CANADA: Routledge, 2007), p.213.

British soldier on horseback stabbing a Zulu warrior [Fig.4] in the chest with a sword and a group of African women on their knees doing laundry [Fig.5] while a white woman looks on approvingly, were demeaning and 'devastating'"[125]

From left to right Fig.4 An illustration depicting Lord Bereford piercing his sword through the shield into the flesh of a nameless Zulu warrior. Fig.5 A photograph showing of Mrs. Thomas Titcombe on the right side of the image, 'offering a lesson in how to wash clothes to Yagba women in northern Nigeria about 1915". Image Courtesy of the Titcome family. Source: https://archive.org/stream/intoheartofafric00roya#page/86/mode/2up

Jeanne Cannizzo alludes to the fact that, in the exhibition the "perfect British soldier was personified in Major General Sir Garnet Wolseley. His career as an imperial commander saw him leading the Red River expedition against the metis in Western Canada in 1870, capturing the capital of the Asantwe Kingdom in West Africa in 1874, and the overseeing the subjugation of the Zulu state in South Africa in 1879."[126] From these colonial expeditions, frontier soldiers, general and missionaries brought with them

[125] Jackie Hong, ROM apologizes for racist 1989 African exhibit https://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2016/11/09/rom-apologizes-for-racist-1989-african-exhibit.html (accessed 3 April 2018)
[126] Jeanne Cannizzo, Into the Hear of Africa (Canada: Royal Ontario Museum, 1989), p.15.

masks, weaponry, necklaces, headdresses, pipes, knives, shields, beer strainer, beads, stoels, seed pots, baskets, divination objects, fabric, combs, hair pins, musical instruments, ingots, whisks, pottery vessels, gold weights, horns and many other spoils of colonial conquest to their home countries.

Through illustrated images of European soldiers pillaging African villages, usurping cultural treasures you are made known as to who violates whom, and who is the 'self' and who is the 'other'. Text accompanying images, the exhibition is riddled with these stereotypes of Africans as docile shown in anthropological poses and set up that makes these assumptions thrive. The image of four Yagba women in northern Nigeria seated around washing basins looking at "Mrs. Thomas Titcombe offering a 'lesson in how to wash clothes'"[127] encapsulates these assumptions and sharply invokes racial undertones of four blacks being spoken down to by a standing white woman suggests her elevated socio-cultural status as a symbol of light and modernity. In the context of this photograph the four African women are being shown as people who do not know how to wash clothes, something that may even suggest that washing clothes or things wash brought to Africa by the West. And that before the arrival of the West Africans did not know that water could be used to wash things such as clothes.

Such assumptions created by images like these do engender certain perceptions about people who are depicted through them and in this context its African women who are shown in a negative light. It is against this backdrop that the black community of

[127] Jeanne Cannizzo, Into the Hear of Africa (Canada: Royal Ontario Museum, 1989), p.15.

Ontario complained that the exhibition made them “look small or like inferior people”[128] who did not even know how to wash things. The dissenting voices of the black diaspora who protested and expressed their dissatisfaction with the manner in which the museum had decided to portray them, congealed into a formidable public opinion that got the museum to apologize after 27 years since the exhibition was opened in 1989.

As an indication of acknowledging the wrongs of the past, Mark Engstrom, the museum's deputy director, stood and delivered the formal apology to the communities that were offended by the exhibition: "the Royal Ontario Museum produced the exhibition Into the Heart of Africa, which opened at the Museum in November 1989. This exhibition was intended to critically examine the colonial relationships and premises through which collections from African societies had entered museums. The exhibition displayed images and words that showed the fundamentally racist ideas and attitudes of early collectors and, in doing so, unintentionally reproduced the colonial, racist and Eurocentric premises through which these collections had been acquired. Thus, Into the Heart of Africa perpetuated an atmosphere of racism and the effect of the exhibition itself was racist. The ROM expresses its deep regret for having contributed to anti-African racism. The ROM also officially apologizes for the suffering endured by members of the African-Canadian community as a result of Into the Heart of Africa."[129]

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[128] Jackie Hong, ROM apologizes for racist 1989 African exhibit https://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2016/11/09/rom-apologizes-for-racist-1989-african-exhibit.html (accessed 3 April 2018)

[129] Mike Crawley, Royal Ontario Museum apologizes over racist exhibit...27 years later http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/rom-apology-into-heart-africa-royal-ontario-museum-1.3840645 (accessed 3 April 2018)

In 2003 the National Air and Space Museum, opened the 'Enola Gay' exhibition to commemorate fiftieth anniversary since the 'Enola Gay, the B-29 Superfortress"[130] had dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima on August 6 1945. As an outcome of the decision to have such an exhbition "a fiery controversy ensued that demonstrated the competing historical narratives regarding the decision to drop the bomb."[131] With renewed public outcry on the bomb that killed thousands upon thousands of Japaneese children, parents, youth and left many with permanent deformities and burnt bodies "when the bomb fell for 44.4 seconds before detonating 580 metres above the ground."[132]

The National Air and Space Museum became a source of controversy when "the 2003 exhibition of Enola Gay, following its trend of controversy, also raised a new round of protests, from Japanese survivors and others. Two men were even arrested for throwing red paint, which dented the plane, during protests on opening day. Yet, this time the museum did not change the exhibition. After nine years of restoration efforts and multiple storms of controversy, the fully assembled Enola Gay has found a permanent and public home."[133] To those Japaneese survivors and people who felt undermined by the museums's decision to bring to the public an object that reminded

[130] Atomic Heritage Foundation, Controversy Over the Enola Gay Exhibition https://www.atomicheritage.org/history/controversy-over-enola-gay-exhibition (accessed 2 April 2018)
[131] Atomic Heritage Foundation, Controversy Over the Enola Gay Exhibition https://www.atomicheritage.org/history/controversy-over-enola-gay-exhibition (accessed 2 April 2018)

[132] Michael Sheils McNamee, It has been 70 years since 70,000 people were killed in less than a minute, http://www.thejournal.ie/years-killed-individuals-tragedy-hiroshima-nagasaki-2238080-Aug2015/ (accessed 2 April 2018)

[133] Atomic Heritage Foundation, Controversy Over the Enola Gay Exhibition https://www.atomicheritage.org/history/controversy-over-enola-gay-exhibition (accessed 2 April 2018)

them of their painful past, the curators acted as purveyors of divisions and controversy. It is perhaps, this view that prompted Steven C. Dubin to argue that, "displays of power have always been what museums do. But exhibitions today commonly reflect the interests of groups that are ideologically different from those previously in control…[and that]…new viewpoints are being expressed in established institutions, channelled along desperate racial, ethnic, and doctrinal lines."[134] Issues of who has the right to represent whose pain became sharpened at the 'Enola Gay' exhibition, with protesters shouting from the ground and upper floors of the museum, "no more Hiroshimas, never again"[135] To the protesters the presence of the 'Enola Gay' represented the horrors and violence of war that society was trying to move away from.

Somini Sengupta, adds more by arguing that, "controversies about how to exhibit a nation or a community's past are not new. Two years ago, [from when she wrote this article in 1997] conservatives attacked the Smithsonian Institution's exhibition marking the 50-year anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima as overly sympathetic to critics of the bombing. A year later, the Library of Congress closed a show on slavery after receiving complaints from many black staff members. More recently, there was controversy at a Holocaust memorial in Sheepshead Bay, Brooklyn, over whether it should include Nazi persecution of gays."[136] Whilst controversies such the Enola Gay exhibition, raises issues about the glorification of "the bombings of Hiroshima and

[134] Steven C. Cubin, The Postmodern Exhibition: Cut on the bias, or is Enola Gay a verb?, in Museums and their Communities, ed. by Sheila Watson (USA & CANADA: Routledge, 2007), p.213.
[135] Atomic Heritage Foundation, Controversy Over the Enola Gay Exhibition https://www.atomicheritage.org/history/controversy-over-enola-gay-exhibition (accessed 2 April 2018) [1:23 / 1:47 to 1:27 / 1:47]
[136] Somini Sengupta, 'At Ellis Island Museum Dispute on Armenian Show' https://www.nytimes.com/1997/09/11/nyregion/at-ellis-island-museum-dispute-on-armenia-show.html (accessed 2 April 2018)

Nagasaki instead of balanced view of the horrors of nuclear weapons"[137], Timothy W. Luke, expresses the view that, "while this event has been understood as a crass case of political censorship, I want to see it as symptomatic of far larger and more volatile ideological battles in America's culture wars."[138]

In South Africa, debates about the representation of indigenous people took on a different form during the controversial 'Miscast' exhibition [Fig.6] curated by Pippa Skotnes and opened on 14 April 1996 at the South African National Gallery.

Fig.6 An image taken during the 'Miscast' exhibition opened on 14 April 1996 at the South African National Gallery. Source: http://www.cca.uct.ac.za/cca/projects/miscast-archive

The exhibition included artefacts, skin bags, images of the Bushmen from southern African countries such as Namibia, Botswana, South Africa and other countries. At the 'Miscast' exhibition invited guests including indigenous people were made to walk on images of the decapitated head of their fellow Africans whose fate befallen them during conquests and acts of genocides between 1904-1908 when South-West Africa was under the German rule.

[137] USA: Washington: Enola Gay Exhibition Causes Protests https://www.atomicheritage.org/history/controversy-over-enola-gay-exhibition (accessed 2 April 2018)
[138] Timothy W. Luke, The (Re) Presentation of Hiroshima at the National Air and Space Museum, in Museums and their Communities, ed. by Sheila Watson (USA & CANADA: Routledge, 2007), p.197.

Poignant and melancholic images of the bodyless heads of the 'vanquished' communities lay bare in the full glare on the floor of the South African National Gallery for people to step on them as they come in to ubsorb the content of the 'Miscast' exhibition. These are images that point to the unspoken genocide that occurred in Southern African when the Dutch first arrived and decimated a large number of the Khoi and San people who occupied these lands. They speak to the atrocities that occurred during the German occupation of the then South-West Africa from 1884 through to the German-Ovaherero conflicts of 1904-1908 and the extermination order of General Adrian Dietrich Lothar von Trotha. These are images of colonial and apartheid cruelty committed by whites on blacks, telling the centuries' long story of strife, oppression, mass killings and genocide and these are stories that the audience was invited to trample under foot.

"Miscast" had touched a particular nerve, thus sparked unintended consequencies, as the indigenous leaders felt offended for being invited to step on the decapitated heads of their people. Whilst as Pippa Skotness suggests that the original intent of the exhibition "is not, strictly speaking, about 'Bushmen'. [But]...a critical a visual exploration of the term 'Bushman' and the various relationships that gave rise to it. These relationships were conducted on many levels, between strangers and indigenes, between colonists and resistance fighters, between researchers and their objects, and, more rarely, between individuals whose mutual respect for each other brought about mutual understanding."[139] And that, "although the category 'Bushman' is a European

[139] Pippa Skotnes, Introduction in Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen (ed) by Pippa Skotnes (Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 1996), p.18.

construction, it does not necessarily follow that the images and representations of Bushmen which survive are all merely products of the European imagination. It is true that an examination of these images tell us more about the Europeans than about the people they sought to represent. But what they tell us most about is those relationships that existed between Khoisan individuals and white settlers: relationships that were fluid and changing, governing by differing needs and criteria to which both parties contributed, and by which each party was irrecoverable altered."[140] What was meant to be what Shelley Ruth Butler calls "a critique of western practices of exhibiting the Khoisan, and of the complicity of these practices with colonialism and genocide"[141] clearly did not convince the apalled indigenous leaders who felt that the exhibition lacked sensitivity towards the lived experiences of the KhoiSan communities and this was atributed to the manner in which the gruesome and gory images depicting the KhoiSan were shown in the exhibition. This raised issues of ethics and sharplly invoked notions of race and ethnicity.

The disjuncture between the original intention of the exhibition which was to expose European imagination and the backlash that was invoked by the unintended consequencies of the curatorial choices made in the exhibition. The striking irony that remains to this day is the fact that even though as Skotnes argues that, the exhibition was not 'strickly speaking about the 'Bushmen', but it continued using 'Bushmen' representations of objects, artefacts, heads, people in chains and hanging from trees to

[140] Pippa Skotnes, Introduction in Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen (ed) by Pippa Skotnes (Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 1996), p.18.
[141] Shelley Ruth Butler, The Politics of Exhibiting Culture: Legacies and Possibilities https://issuu.com/cca.uct/docs/politics_of_exhibiting_cultures (accessed 2 April 2018)

recycle the desturbing images of the crimes committed on the KhoiSan people. Even as we try to understand the logic behind the original intention of the exhibition, we still arrive at the same conclusion, that as spectators we are bombarded with images of either the dead KhoiSan or those who were captured during the genocide that was instigated by the Germans. As supposedly a response to the objectifying 'Bushman Diorama', exhibition that located the KhoiSan outside the human family, 'Miscast' lacks socio-political and cultutal nuances of representing problematic histories in a democratic environment and resort to recycling the same psychological violence of trauma and degradation, thus provoked anger to many.

In its intetion to expose the relationships and encounters between the indigene and the occidents, the exhibition is silent on the Khoi-Almeida confrontation of 1510, a historic incident that led to the death of Almeida and his crew, when he provoked anger of the Khoikhoi at table bay. To include this narrative in the exhibition about the Khoi would imply drawing a visual image of the dead Europeans with wounds inflicted on them by people whom they deemed lesser human beings. This would basically mean uncovering the vulnerability and fragility of white priviledge, and what it means for a Portuguese viceroy to be defeated by the 'savages' who were perceived to be subhumans even at that time. Not only this, but it would also tell a different narrative about the KhoiSan as an organized community who were able to respond to a foreign threat that was targeted at them decisively. Instead of this balanced story of Indigenous people in the South, the curator opted for a narrative that drew from the same violence it was trying to move away from.

Already in these scenarios and others similar to these, we see a socio-cultural mobilization of communities speaking back to colonial power to bring global attention back to the colonial museum. The tone and energy with which these confrontations have taken place do suggest to us that people are begining to realize how their lives have been negatively affected by how they are being potrayed in museums, thus feel the need to question the epistemological foundations and colonial methods of research of the museum practice. Though not quite, Simpson came closest to this thinking when she reasons that, "colonialism has played a significant role both in shaping the collections in museums and in shaping the audiences that might potentially use them"[142] and if collections have been shaped by colonial mentalities, whose interest do they serve in the 'post-colonial', we may ask.

The earlier arguments and definition presented by ICOM, Simpson, MacKenzie, Buttler, Cubin, Hong, Luke, Skotnes and many others who have uncovered the evolving meaning of museums do find expression in the participants responses to the research questionnaires that were circulated to solicit public opinion on the meaning of musesums. The questions were confined only to the critical aspects of the research and targeted at answering the question: **what is your understanding of a museum?**

We could draw but few examples from these responses, for example, in her response to the question, Michelle Pressend argues that a museum, "…is an institution/place that

[142] Moira G. Simpson, Making Representations: Museums in the Post-Colonial Era second edition (London & USA: Routledge, 1996), p.2.

houses and provide information of past artefacts – human and non-human histories"[143] While the museum represent 'an institution or a house' to Pressend, in his response Sven Ouzman, sees it as "…a network of relations. It is an attempt, within a relatively narrow temporal, intellectual, social and political frame, to understand the world around us and our place in that world. Ideally, future museums will show us as networked beings with links and responsibilities to other people, places and 'things'"[144]

To Alan Morris, the museum "…is both an archive and classroom to study the natural and human world."[145] Morri's association of a museum with a school and an archive finds perfect expression in Michaela Clark's, observation that, "a museum is the custodian of a country's collective history and public memory. It is a place of knowledge as well as an archive that holds what we as a country have deemed valuable to keep for posterity. It is a place where people come to learn about our collective past as well as reflect on our present"[146] The congruence of Morris' idea of a museum as a 'classroom' and Michaela Clark's notion of a museum as a 'place of knowledge' and as well as an 'archive' seems to point to the fact that a museum is a place of pedagogy, but what remains to be answered is: whose pedagogy? It is the one of the oppressed or the one of the oppressor? In these examples, the respondents highlight the fact that the museological institution is a polysemous institution with multiple meanings and can hardly have a singular meaning; it means different things to different people.

[143] Michelle Pressend, Questionnaire, 10 June. 2018.
[144] Sven Ouzman, Questionnaire, 16 March. 2018.
[145] Alan Morris, Questionnaire, 19 February. 2017.
[146] Michaela Clark Questionnaire, 10 April. 2018.

To the respondents the Museum should be a dynamic place of dialogical encounter, “a network of relations”[147] at whose intersection is located the notion of a museum as a place “of service to society”[148] and an archive for the current generation and posterity. Though there is no specificity as to what Winani Kgwatalala meant when she made reference to ‘society’, I want to assume that, by ‘society’ she refers to all people not just the ruling elite and the rich who can easily access museums as it has always been the case before. I bring this up in light of the fact that; initially museums were built as ‘cabinets of curiosities’ and private spaces exclusively for the enjoyment of the rich and the ruling elite. And that, it was through the lens of that ruling elite that museums bestowed on themselves the power to define society and to them society meant the rich and the privilege. What therefore Kgwatalala could be understood to be suggesting is the fact that museums can no longer serve the interest of the few but should be inclusive and address issues of society as a whole.

Furthermore, I want to take it presumable that by “society” Kgwatalala includes the views of the formerly oppressed and ‘vanquished’ communities who in the past were not included in discussions about the production of museums and their meaning. She may well be suggesting that the essence of museums cannot always be narrowly drawn from European societal values, methodologies and epistemologies sought to advance European ideas. Through her response Kgwatalala challenges our conception of society and presents a museum as an institution that should add value to the development of society not stand aloof from society. It is through Kgwatalala’s lens of a

[147] Sven Ouzman, Questionnaire, 16 March. 2018.
[148] Winani Kgwatalala, Questionnaire, 24 January. 2017.

museum as ‘service to society’ that I see the idea of the ‘post-colonial’ museum emerges as a tool through which societies could effectively deal with entrenched colonial legacies today. ‘Service to society’ means among other things, the museum must not always be about grand narratives, but it must also reflect and tell the erased stories of the forgotten and ordinary people in the society in which it is located.

To this effect the respondents see the museological institution as a multimodal space in which the needs of society are accommodated as illustrated [Fig.7] bellow:

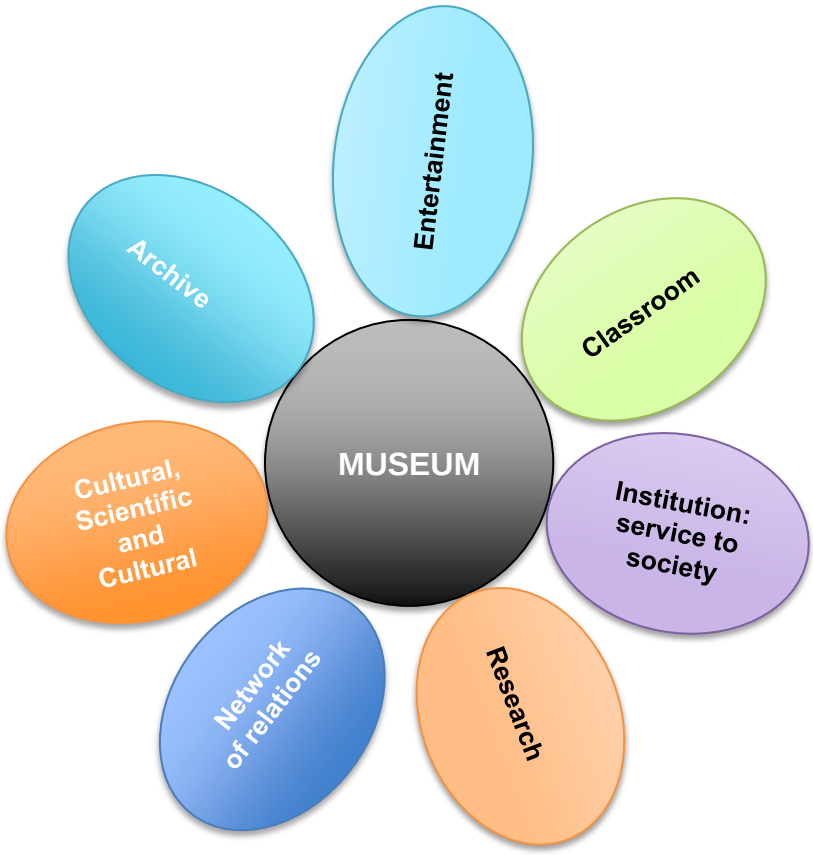

Fig.7 An illustration that highlights terms that the respondents has used to define the museum. Diagram by Wandile Kasibe

These diverse responses not only are they unveiling the intersecting interpretations of the meaning of museums, but they also uncover yet another simple 'truth' which is the fact that museums become meaningful when their very definition is drawn from society. This simple implies that a community ground up approach to the meaning of museums is much more effective and relevant than the institutional top down approach, meaning that communities should have a say in the museological practice, decision making and programmes.

These intersecting ideas of meaning making in museums also point us to Michel Foucault's "heterotopia"[149]. 'Heterotopias' are living spaces unlike 'utopias'[150] which are as Foucault suggests "sites with no real place"[151], heterotopias are "real places—places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society"[152] and the museum as an integral part of society becomes a 'heterotopia'.

This idea of the 'heterotopia', points us yet to another domesion about which Rassool states, "we also need to understand how the concept of museum is changing, and how perhaps the possibilities of the post-museum are being inaugurated."[153] But what would a 'post-museum' mean in a colonially coded context? What form would such a museum take and where will it draw its 'museumness' from? And most impartantly, why could

[149] See Architecture /Mouvement/ Continuité, http://web.mit.edu/allanmc/www/foucault1.pdf (accessed 2 December 2018)
[150] See English Dictionary https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/utopia Imagined space (accessed 2 December 2018)
[151] Michel Foucault, Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias From: Architecture /Mouvement/ Continuité October, 1984; ("Des Espace Autres," March 1967 Translated from the French by Jay Miskowiec) http://web.mit.edu/allanmc/www/foucault1.pdf (accessed 2 December 2018)
[152] *Ibid*
[153] Ciraj Rassool, (2007) *Museums and Democracy: who is representing whom* [unpublished paper], presented at the Iziko Museums' Summer School programme on the 2nd February

Rassool be implying by the "post-museum"[154], a concept about which Hooper-Greenhill states, "the post museum will retain some the characteristics of its parent, but it will re-shape them to its own ends."[155]

As a matter of necessity in trying to understand this new meaning of a museum, we must critically examine among other things, the fact that, apart from the ambiguity of its 'postness', the challenge with the concept is that, it assumes that, the rest of the world has fully fathomed the 'original' and notion of the 'modern museum' from which it ('post-museum') intends to emanate, when in actual fact, in some societies, particularly in Africa the notion of a museum is still fairly new and in extreme cases not known at all and therefore the idea of 'postness' can hardly find its grip.

What the 'post-museum' presents is a 'discursive exodus' into the 'new', ironically with heavy reliance on the techniques and strategies of the old. The 'post-museum' lulls unsuspecting audiences into a state of amnesia, where the intricate and biased politics that gave birth to its predecessor (the modern museum) are perceived to be a complete 'wasteland'[156] that should be forgotten and expunged from memory. In simple terms 'post-museum' becomes a way in which the colonial museum distances itself from its troubling colonial legacy of its crimes committed against humanity and therefore takes no responsibility for the unethical undertakings and actions of its 'parent'.

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[154] See Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, '*Interpretive Communities, Strategies and Repertoires'*, in Museums and their Communities, ed. by Sheila Watson (USA & CANADA: Routledge, 2007), p.81.
[155] *Ibid*
[156] see Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (Great Britain: James Currey, 1986), p.3.

In trying to understand how and why the empire would want to distance itself from the colonial past, we turn to Simpson when she states that, “as former colonisers, now distanced somewhat from the problems they caused there has perhaps been less pressure upon European nations to address the issues of concern to indigenous peoples; this can be reflected in the limited extent to which issues concerning human remains and sacred objects have been addressed and acted upon within European museums”[157]

This rapture from the old to the ‘new’ could be dangerous, as it may distort and efface the very controversies that constitute the ‘modern museum’ and present the museological institution as a ‘neutral’ space untainted by the crimes of the bygone years. If the ‘post-museum’ adopts the old as part of the ‘new’: how ‘post’ is its ‘postness’, then? Can museums escape the politics out of which they are born? In the same way that, the term “post-modernism”, has according to David Harvey, gained momentum since its introduction as “some kind of reaction to or departure from, ‘modernism’”[158] this question would not disappear, but rather acts as a reminder of the underlying politics that constitute the continuous production of museums. Further to this, the ‘post-museum’ glosses over the sharp contradictions with which the notion of ‘neutrality’ has been met.

[157] Moira G. Simpson, Making Representations: Museums in the Post-Colonial Era second edition (London & USA: Routledge, 1996), p.2.
[158] David Harvey, The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change (USA: BLACKWELL Publisher, 1990), p.7.

2.1.1 The Myth of Neutrality in Museums

"Claiming not to take a position is actually a way of taking one—it means supporting the status quo"[159]

The notion that museums are 'neutral' loci and that somehow their 'neutrality' can act as the 'panacea' to the ills of society, is a notion out of place and may create a huge problem if left unchallenged, considering the contentious and already discussed controversial politics that underpin the nexus between race construction, colonialism, ethics and global trade as depicted in the diagram below [Fig.8]. As we have established in the context of this study thus far that, museums are by default institutions of politics, controversy, power, "culture wars"[160], authority and as Simpson posits, "…providing a mirror in which are reflected the views and attitudes of dominant cultures…" and therefore can never be neutral[161], a notion about which Davison raises similar concern when she states that, "the claim that museums are neutral and objective in what they choose to present to the public is no longer tenable."[162]

[159] Jillian Steinhauer, Museums have a duty to be political https://www.theartnewspaper.com/comment/museums-have-a-duty-to-be-political (accessed 6 November 2018)
[160] See Richard Bolton, *Culture Wars*: Documents from the Recent Controversies in the Arts (New York: New Press, 1992) cited by Timothy W. Luke, *The Nuclear Reactions: The (Re) Presentation of Hiroshima at the National Air and Space Museum*, in *Museums and their Communities*, ed. by Sheila Watson (USA & Canada, 2007), p.209.
[161] Moira G. Simpson, *Making Representations: Museums in the Post Colonial Era* (London & USA: Routledge, 1996), p.1.
[162] Patricia Davison, Material culture, context and meaning: A critical investigation of museum practice, with particular reference to the South African Museum (Thesis) https://open.uct.ac.za/bitstream/handle/11427/18276/thesis_sci_1991_davison_patricia.pdf?sequence=1 (accessed 24 May 2018)

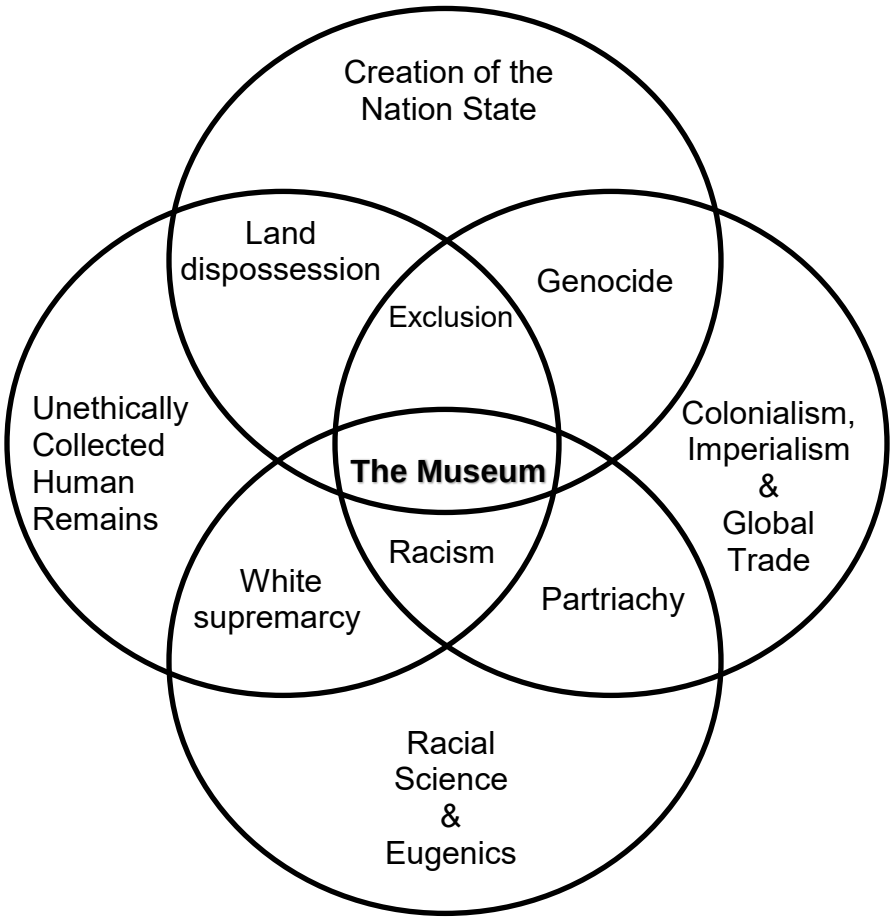

Fig.8 Diagram shows how the modern museum is at the center of the politics that have shaped our socio-political and cultural landscape

The main problem, with this sweeping and generalizing statement, though, is that if left unexplained may create an impression that this presupposition is somehow a systematic stricture against those who believe blindly in the 'neutrality' of museums. But as we have seen, through a rigorous process of engaging the scholarship that has emerged from different schools of thought, both inside and outside of the museological circles, that 'neutrality' of museums is perhaps a notion too farfetched. I am not in any way, suggesting that, there are no counter arguments to this presupposition for as we have argued there is a strong 'post-modernist' view that lobbies for what Hooper-

Greenhill terms as 'Post-museum.'[163] The 'Post-museum' as a form of neutralizing tool provokes us to ask the simple, but complex question: what is neutrality?

To fully understand this concept is to fathom the meaning of 'neutrality' or lack thereof in the museological context. Roderick Ogley states that, "the idea of neutrality is simple enough. It means, obviously, not talking part in others' quarrels…"[164] And further to this, it was Peter Lyon, who after having looked at the thin line between 'neutralism' and 'neutrality', arrived at this conclusion: "Neutralism is often compared and contrasted with such similarly equivocal terms as 'colonialism', 'nationalism', 'socialism' and 'communism'"[165]. To Lyon and Ogley, 'neutrality', can hardly be understood outside the framework of politics and jurisprudence: "Neutrality has a strictly legal as well as general diplomatic or political connotation. This is what distinguishes neutrality most sharply from neutralism…"[166] The tone with which Lyon engages the subject of 'neutrality', finds similar resonance with Robert A. Bauslaugh's account where he argues that: "In modern international law, neutrality is a legal position involving a wide range of specific rights and obligations…"[167]

If 'neutrality' is a political and statutory position with "specific rights and obligations" as discussed in the passages above and that it as Lyon posits, "connotes a state of fact,

[163] See Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, '*Interpretive Communities, Strategies and Repertoires'*, in Museums and their Communities, ed. by Sheila Watson (USA & Canada: Routledge, 2007), p.81.
[164] Roderick Ogley, *The Theory and Practice of Neutrality in the Twentieth Century* (Great Britain: Routledge & Kegan Paul Limited, 1970), p.1.
[165] Peter Lyon, *Neutralism* (Great Britain: Leicester University Press, 1963), p.16.
[166] Ibid, p.17.
[167] Robert A. Bauslaugh, *The Concept of Neutrality in Classical Greece* (United States of America: University of California Press, 1991), p.x.

two parties in conflict and a third adopting a policy or attitude of being on neither side"[168], we might ask in this account, as to how does the concept of "neutrality" finds its grip within an institution that has already positioned and predetermined itself as a socio-cultural, didactic and political instrument "where bodies, constantly under surveillance, were to be rendered docile"[169], and "…functioning as instruments for the reform of public manners?"[170] as Tony Bennett puts it.

How and where is this concept of 'neutrality' located and understood in what Steven C. Dubin terms in Watson as "displays of power [that] represent both action and reaction"[171]. What informs 'neutrality' when as Bennett argues "Scholars subscribe to certain ideologies and myths, just as museum personnel…"[172] What are the unifying principles that inform 'neutrality', when ambiguity and paradox seem to be the defining feature through which 'neutrality' negotiates its place within the current museological practice/s. The ambiguity and paradox lie in the fact that, 'neutrality', supposedly to be a position that takes neither side, but ironically in museums this term seem to create a sense of duality or 'twoness'. Meaning that, on one hand, the museum through its politically charged 'socio-political DNA' looses the argument as a 'neutral' space, but on the other it is perceived by some as a space of 'common understanding', but what does common understanding mean in a diverse and cosmopolitan society?

[168] Peter Lyon, *Neutralism* (Great Britain: Leicester University Press, 1963), p.17.
[169] Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum* (London: Routledge, 1995), p.89.
[170] *Ibid.,* p. 90.
[171] Steven C. Dubin, *The Postmodern Exhibition: Cut on the bias, or is Enola Gay a verb?* In *Museums and their Communities,* ed. by Sheila Watson (USA & Canada: Routledge, 1997), p. 213.
[172] *Ibid*., p.215.

Whether 'neutrality' is viewed through what James Henderson submits as, "four different shapes: Neutralization, Traditional Neutrality, Ad Hoc Neutrality, and Nonalignment"[173] it still presents to us the same ambiguous paradox and makes us arrive at the same understanding that, "neutrality" or lack thereof, is much more complex than one would think. Bennett, Dubin, Luke, Macdonald and Ogley's paradigms, however, help us reason consciously, as to whether something as complex and ambiguous as 'neutrality' can be simplified. They instil in us a sense that, due to the subjective nature of the socio-cultural politics out of which the colonial museum is born, perhaps the notion of 'neutrality' is a term out of place when discussed in the museological context.

On the basis of the polemics upon which the concept of the museum has been architectured, it is difficult for one to even conceive the idea that museums can actually be 'neutral', however, this argument may no longer hold in an age where the concept of a museum itself is in a continuous state of evolution, where it could mean a whole range of things to different people.

To Kylie Message the museum appear "as signifier of high culture"[174], and we may all agree that something as dynamic and subjective as culture can hardly be 'neutral'. Be that as it may, Theodor W. Adorno argues that, "an intellectual dispute like the one on museums must be fought out with specific arguments."[175] Since Adorno, invokes the question of specificity, let us now turn our focus and look specifically into the question of the 'third space', 'hybridity', 'postness' as they are often associated with 'neutrality'.

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[173] James Henderson in Roderick Ogley, *The Theory and Practice of Neutrality in the Twentieth Century* (Great Britain: Routledge & Kegan Paul Limited, 1970), p.ix.
[174] Kylie Message, *New Museums and the Making of Culture* (Oxford & New York: Berg, 2006), p.5.
[175] Theodor W. Adorno, *Prisms* (Britain: Nerville Spearman, 1967), p.176.

2.1.2 'Thirdness', 'hybridity' and 'postness': neutrality?

It was Adorno who once laid the following thesis: "Museums are like the family sepulchres of works of art. They testify to the neutralization of culture."[176] To fully comprehend the lens through which Adorno associates museums with the notion of neutrality, you almost need to look at words through Michel Foucault's lens, where he argues that, "words are still investigated on the basis of their representative values…"[177] In the words of Adorno, the museums are represented as "…objects to which the observer no longer has a vital relationship and which are in the process of dying"[178]. In this extract Adorno, neither provides us with a much more convincing and substantial argument, that might give us an indication as to how he arrived at such a conclusion, nor does he pin down the 'truth' about the object (museum).

To him a museum "testifies to the neutralization of culture", whilst at the same time is in the "process of dying". That which testifies (the museum) is also in the process of dying: this is the image that Adorno wants to register on our minds. But further to this, we may take him to task though, by asking what could he exactly be implying by 'neutralization of culture'? Can something as dynamic as culture be neutralized, in the first place? If so, who 'neutralizes' whose culture? And if a museum acts as a testifier to this impossibility, what position does it harbor? Does its position as the testifier constitute its 'neutrality'? Could Adorno perhaps be advocating the fact that museums are 'hybrid' or 'third spaces' or in simple terms spaces of 'mutual agreement'? If so

[176] Theodor W. Adorno, *Prisms* (Britain: Nerville Spearman, 1967), p.175.
[177] Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (Great Britain: Tavistock Publication Limited, 1970), p.233.
[178] Theodor W. Adorno, *Prisms* (Britain: Nerville Spearman, 1967), p.175.

what constitutes the 'hybridness' or 'thirdness' of museums? Is it their ability to create conducive environment for broader societal engagements and inclusivity, thereby transcend the boundaries of its institutional history? Or is it because of their interconnectedness histories to the histories of communities whose objects and human remains still form a major part of their collections? Or could it be because we turn to think of museums as windows through which we gaze upon our past, be it human origins, civilization, slavery, industrial revolution, science and other development and historic moments that humanity has witnesses etc?

When Homi Bhabha speaks of 'hybridity' or 'Third Space', he does so in ambivalent and ambiguous terms of reference ('*neither this nor that'*), where 'hybridy' or the 'third space*',* simple imply fluidity and elusiveness, something that cannot be fixed or pinned down[179]. In so doing Bhabha, invites us into an uncomfortable space, where even words as tools of representation fail to elucidate the essence of this neitherness and unrepresentable: "it is that Third Space, though unrepresentable in itself, which constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meaning symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity…"[180]

It is rather unsettling and comforting or perhaps neither that, Bhabha leaves us at a point, where he further argues that: "…by exploring this Third Space, we may elude the politics of polarity and emerge as others of our selves"[181] If the 'third space' is a point at which one escapes the polarizing polemics of our interaction with others as Bhabha

[179] See Homi K. Bhabha, 1994. *The Location of Culture* (USA: Routledge), p.37.
[180] *Ibid*., p.37.
[181] Homi K. Bhabha, 1994. *The Location of Culture* (USA: Routledge), p.39.

suggests, one wonders as to what impact does this have on institutions such as museums, where politics of representation are at the heart of the 'museumification'[182] of a people's collective memory and culture.

Even as we speak of museums within the context of Bhabha's 'third space', something is still not quite right. What is at issue here is much more complex than just a mere exercise of justifying how non-neutral museums are, but perhaps adding different layers of complexity would help us understand the paradoxical nature of "neutrality" and dilemmas in which the museum operates.

The latter becomes a vital point of concern as it determines the standing of this institution. So 'post-museum', 'neutrality', 'third space', in a museological context basically cajoles us into accepting a hypothesis that the museums' colonial past of human rights violations can somehow be cleansed through concepts without any fundamental and practical changes in the ways these museums operate. It seeks to jettison us to a logic that changes in the political landscape have automatically translated into structural changes in the functioning of the museum both in the former empires and colonies. But the realities on ground have shown us that little has changed in terms of the epistemological base and structure of the modern museum, particularly in the former colonies such as South Africa. And this presupposition cannot be misconstrued to be suggesting that, there have not been new legislations legislated to further align the museological institution with the spirit of the country's new constitution at whose core lies the principle of the restoration of human dignity. But while the

[182] see Michael Ames, Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992), p.140.

constitution speaks of human dignity, some museums in South Africa still have objects and human remains of South Africans who were acquired in the century's long quest for race 'science'. And the irony is that, according to the National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999 in which it is stated, "material remains resulting from human activity which are in a state of disuse and are in or on land and which are older than 100 years, including artefacts, human and hominid remains and artificial features and structures…"[183], these unburied human remains and artefacts which were acquired through processes of conquest, archaeological means are understood to be part of the national estate, thus by law should be kept in museums. In other words the law treats these individuals as museum 'objects'.

As Allan G. Morris reminds us, "the great anthropological museum collections of Europe and South Africa contain much in the way of skeletal remains of the native populations of the region. The major part of these collections was excavated by archaeologists or assembled by amateur naturalists of the last century"[184] and that "some of these bones tell us another story, for on the back shelves of some museums lie the last mortal remains of historic San killed in the genocide of the last two centuries in South Africa."[185] And further to this, Pippa Skotnes observes, "most South African museums [still] include sections on the Bushmen. These are usually devoted to revealing them as timeless, ahistorical hunter-gatherers, cast all but naked and set in dioramas, which

[183] Republic of South Africa, Government Gazette http://www.dac.gov.za/sites/default/files/Legislations%20Files/a25-99.pdf (accessed 15 April 2016)
[184] Alan G. Morris, Trophy Skulls, Museums and the San in Pippa Skotnes (ed.), Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen (Cape Town: Cape Town University Press, 1996), p.67.
[185] *Ibid.,*p.67.

show a pristine landscape in which no foreign intrusion is evident"[186]. And "this image is further exploited by advertisers and popular film-makers, who perpetuate the image of the Bushmen as cast out of time, out of politics and out of history"[187] and as we shall argue that it was through such spectatorial dioramas that certain 'scientific' conclusions about indigenous and native peoples were reinforced and popularized. And as Skotnes further argues that, "the drive for science to describe, measure, record and dissect Khoisan bodies in the nineteenth century found expression in diagrammatic drawings, anthropometric photographs, casts and collections of body parts"[188] that were either donated to the museum or collected through colonial expeditions as trophies and objects for scientific study. But before we delve deeper into the disheartening hard-core politics that underpin this genocidal practice or what Morris calls "the tale of people's inhumanity…"[189], let us understand the pathology and genealogy of the museological institution itself, its palimpsest meaning since the birth of 'modernity'.

2.1.3 The Genesis of the Museum

"The colonial origins of the museum remains an enduring influence upon these institutions and upon public perception of them"[190]

[186] Pippa Skotnes (ed.), Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen (Cape Town: Cape Town University Press, 1996), p.17.
[187] *Ibid.,* p.17.
[188] *Ibid.,* p.20.
[189] Alan G. Morris, Trophy Skulls, Museums and the San in Pippa Skotnes (ed.), Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen (Cape Town: Cape Town University Press, 1996), p.67.
[190] Moira G. Simpson, Making Representations: Museums in the Post-Colonial Era second edition (London & USA: Routledge, 1996), p.1.

While the notion of a museum as presented by Oliver Impey & Arthur MacGregor as "cabinet of curiosities, closet of rarities, and the Wunderkammer"[191] is generally believed to have emanated from the European Renaissance[192] learning, however, there has been a growing counter argument that suggests that the notion of a museum is perhaps far older than Renaissance itself. In Hugh H. Genoways et al "*Museum Origins*", it is said that "the most famous of the ancient world was the Museum of Alexandria. [Sadly] very little is known about this museum and its functions (Erskine 1995). Yet it clearly was a source of inspiration for the development of modern museums at the beginning of the Renaissance (Lee 1997)."[193] Andrew Erskine, laments that, "in spite of the famous intellectuals who worked in Alexandria, as Euclid, Callimachus, and Eratosthenes, the evidence for and Library is very poor. It is not even certain whether they were founded by Ptolemy I or II, although it is most likely that they were set first by Ptolemy and developed under the second."[194] Erskine's concern about the lack of detailed account about this important institution raises a number of questions: could it be because of the fact that it was built in a colonized Egypt and that scholars in Alexandria did not think it was necessary to provide a detailed account about its function?

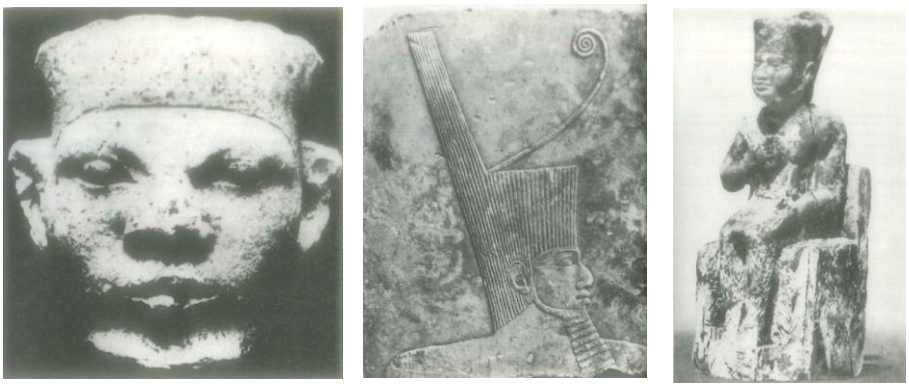
[191] Oliver Impey & Arthur MacGregor, *The Origins of Museums* (United States of America: Oxford University Press, 1985), p.1.
[192] See Walter Mignolo, The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality & Colonization (second edition) (United States of America: The University of Michigan Press, 2003). p.vii.
[193] Hugh H. Genoways and Mary Anne, Andrei. *Museum Origins* (United States of America: LEFT COAST PRESS, INC, 2008), p.15.
[194] Andrew Erskine, Culture and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt: The Museum and Library of Alexandria in Greece & Rome, Vol. 42, No. 1 (Apr., 1995), pp. 38-48 http://www.jstor.org/stable/643071 (accessed 28 April 2018)

Was it a pure neglect? Or was it because of the fact that, the "...Egyptians were Blacks..."[195] as argued by Cheikh Anta Diop and that any detailed description of such an institution would uncover the often neglected history of black Egyptians with "...black skinned and woolly hair..."[196] that Herodotus, the Greek historian had written about? What about Strabo who is said to have remarked that, "Egyptians settled Ethiopia and Colchis"[197] a statement of fact to which Gastro Maspero is said to have corroborated when he stated that, "…by the almost unanimous testimony of ancient historians, they [Egyptians settled Ethiopia and Colchis] belonged to an African race [read: Negro] which first settled in Ethiopia, on the Middle Nile; following the course of the river they gradually reached the sea…"[198] What would such a detailed account about the museum corroborate the fact that, the black Egypt, brought civilization while as Diop suggests "…the rest of the world was steeped in barbarism…"[199]

Would it unearth Herodotus' assertion as reflected by John Lemprière that, "...the priests of Thebes [Ancient City in Egypt] ascribed the origin of the oracles at Dodona [Oldest Hellenic Oracle in Greece] and in the Oasis of Ammon, to two Egyptian females connected with the service of the temple at Thebes, and who had been carried away and sold into slavery by certain Phoenicians."[200] Would it further uncover the fact that, the two abducted females were black Egyptians and that they originated the "Greek

[195] Cheikh Anta Diop, The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality (translated from French by Mercer Cook) (Paris: Laurance Hill & Co, 1974), p.1.
[196] Cheikh Anta Diop, The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality (translated from French by Mercer Cook) (Paris: Laurance Hill & Co, 1974), p.1.
[197] *Ibid.,* p.2.
[198] *Ibid.,* p.2
[199] *Ibid.,* p.10.
[200] John Lemprière, Bibliotheca Classica or A Classical Dictionary. Volume 1 (New York: G. And C. And H. Carvill Broadway, 1831), p.145.

oracle"[201], when "declaring that there must be there a place of divination from Zeus; [And that] the people of Dodona understood that the message was divine, and therefore they established the oracular shrine."[202] Or would it bring forth Herodotus' conjenctures that, "...the Dodoneans gave the name of doves or pigeons, to the famels carried off., because they used a foreign tongue, and their speech resembled the chattering of birds; and the remark of the same Dodoneans, that the pigeons were of a black colour, he explains by the circumstances of these females being, like the other Egyptians, of a dark complexion."[203] Would it have told of "Narmer (or Menes), [Fig. 9] typical Negro, first Pharaoh of Egypt...Zoser [Fig.10]...[the] Pharaoh of the Third Dynasty...[or] Cheops [Fig.11], Fourth Dynasty Pharoah"[204] and many other Pharaohs from the dynasties with all the Black features that can be observed in the three images.



From left to right Fig.9 Bust of "Narmer, the first Pharaoh of Egypt who unified Upper and Lower Egypt for the first time. Fig.10 Zoser, the Pharaoh of the Third Dynasty who inaugurated large architecture in hewn stone...Fig.11 Cheops, Fourth Dynasty Pharaoh, builder of the Great Pyramid: a Black man resembling the present-day Cameroonian type". Photos and caption taken from the African *Origin of Cilivization: Myth or Reality* by Cheikh Anta Diop

[201] Cheikh Anta Diop, The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality (translated from French by Mercer Cook) (Paris: Laurance Hill & Co, 1974), p.1.
[202] Herodotus, Herodotus with an English Translation by A.D. Godley. Volume 1 (Cambridge & Messachusetts, 1920), p.343.
[203] John Lemprière, Bibliotheca Classica or A Classical Dictionary. Volume 1 (New York: G. And C. And H. Carvill Broadway, 1831), p.145.
[204] Cheikh Anta Diop, The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality (translated from French by Mercer Cook) (Paris: Laurance Hill & Co, 1974), pp.13-15.

In the absence of clear evidence to provide satisfactory answers to these questions and others similar to these, it is perhaps, neccessary to speculate that, the almost unavailability of detailed records pertaining to the Museum of Alexandria must have had something to do with the fact that it was not built in Greece the capilal empire, but in the newly colonized state, hence there was less agency to keep full account of its operations. Another speculation could be that, the museum records were destroyed during wars and conflicts that ensued and never recovered even in the interwar periods or perhaps it remains burried beneath the layers of the Egyptian lanscape.

The non availability of sufficient and detailed records cannot be seen to be suggesting its non existence, because as Hamilton states that “around the years 30-25 BC the historian and geographer Strabo visited Alexandria, together with the Roman praefectus of Egypt Aelius Gallus. This is the description he left of the city and of its monuments.”[205] He writes, “the whole city is intersected by roads for the passage of horsemen and chariots. Two of these are very broad, exceeding a *plethrum* in breadth, and cut one another at right angles. It contains also very beautiful public grounds and royal palaces, which occupy a fourth or even a third part of its whole extent…The Museum is a part of the palaces. It has a public walk and a place furnished with seats, and a large hall, in which the men of learning, who belong to the Museum, take their common meal. This community possesses also property in common; and a priest, formerly appointed by the kings, but at present by Caesar, presides over the

[205] H.C. Hamilton, The Ancient Library of Alexandria: A Project of the Ancient Library of Alexandria, its History and its Place in Western Culture http://www.alexandrianlibrary.org/?page_id=252 (accessed 29 April 2018)

Museum."[206] Strabo draws a picture of an institution in which people who produced knowledge gather and contemplate, but not only this, because he also seems to suggest to us that this museum had a structure and a system through which it was governed: the ruler preciding over it whilst there were people appointed to run it as producers of knowledge.

As we have already ascertained earlier that, it must have been from these intersecting practices of scholarship, knowledge production and priestly responsibilities drawn from the long process of cross pollination and cross breeding between "white Greeks and black Egyptians"[207] that the meaning of the Museum/Library of Alexandria was generated from.

According to Geoffrey D. Lewis, "the word *museum* has classical origins. In its Greek form, *mouseion*, it meant "seat of the Muses" and designated a philosophical institution or a place of contemplation."[208] And "use of the Latin derivation, *museum*, appears to have been restricted in Roman times mainly to places of philosophical discussion. Thus the great Museum at Alexandria, founded by Ptolemy I Soter early in the 3rd century BC, with its college of scholars and its library, was more a prototype university than an institution to preserve and interpret material aspects of the heritage."[209]

[206] Strabo in H.C. Hamilton, The Ancient Library of Alexandria: A Project of the Ancient Library of Alexandria, its History and its Place in Western Culture http://www.alexandrianlibrary.org/?page_id=252 (accessed 29 April 2018)
[207] Cheikh Anta Diop, The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality (translated from French by Mercer Cook) (Paris: Laurance Hill & Co, 1974), p.5.
[208] Geoffrey D. Lewis, History of Museums https://www.britannica.com/topic/history-of-museums-398827 (accessed 28 April 2018)
[209] Geoffrey D. Lewis, History of Museums https://www.britannica.com/topic/history-of-museums-398827 (accessed 28 April 2018)

Other records also seem to be suggesting that at the time of its genesis, the Museum of Alexandria was also known as the Royal Library of Alexandria, which was as Mansur G. Abdullah etal suggest an "ancient centre of classical learning at Alexandria in Egypt"[210] whose establishment "near the royal palace [was completed] about 280BC by Ptolemy I Soter (reigned 232-285/283 BC)."[211] To add on to Abdullah etal, Hamilton's argument, Andrew Erskine adds that, "within the palace complex in Alexandria, the city founded by Alexander in Egypt, a community of scholars was established in what was known as the Museum (or Mouseion); linked to this was a library, the Great Library of Alexandria."[212] What this passage is revealing to us is the character of this museum as a place of scholarship and contemplation, but it does not tell us much about the colonial environment in which the museum was built and for whose benefit was it built and above all the political profile of the rulers under whose rulership the museum was built.

To shared some light on some of these questions, Kyriakos Savvpoulos records that, "After Alexander's sudden death and the fragmentation of the Empire, Ptolemy I, having secured Egypt for himself, seems to have successfully followed the model of his predecessor, leaving Egyptian traditions relatively intact, the administrative ones in general, but the religious ones in particular. From a political point of view, Egypt became an independent kingdom, in contrast to its political status during the Roman occupation,

[210] Mansur G. Abdullah etal. Alexandria Museum: Ancient Institution, Alexandria, Egypt global.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/398800/Alexandrian-Museum (accessed, 20 October 2015)
[211] *Ibid*
[212] Andrew Erskine, Culture and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt: The Museum and Library of Alexandria in Greece & Rome, Vol. 42, No. 1 (Apr., 1995), pp. 38-48 http://www.jstor.org/stable/643071 (accessed 28 April 2018)

when it became a province of a foreign empire."[213] What Savvpoulos is bringing to our attention is the fact that by the time the museum of Alexandria is conceptualized, the Egyptian geo-political, socio, religio and cultural landscape had gone through various changes. Firstly, "the conquest of Egypt, without a battle, by Alexander the Great during his campaign against the Persians, marks the beginning of the Ptolemaic period."[214] Ever since this conquest of Egypt, Alexander the Great, who "was born in Pella, the ancient capital of Macedonia in July 356 BC"[215], Savvpoulos reveals to us that, "…Greeks, Egyptians, but also Persians and Jews, were part of its multicultural society. Within this environment, elements from different cultural traditions, mostly Greek and Egyptian, as well as their people, coexisted and interacted with each other."[216]

Other evidence corroborate this fact and point in the direction of an Egypt that after its conquer by Alexander had starting to become more like a microcosm of the world and to this effects, Cheikh Anta Diop adds suggest that, "after the conquest of Egypt by Alexander, under the Ptolemies, crossbreeding between white Greeks and black Egyptians flourished, thanks to the policy of assimilation…"[217] With this important piece of information, we may also suggest perhaps with a degree of confidence that the

[213] Kyriakos Savvpoulos, The Role of the Egyptian Tradition in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods: Ideology, Culture, Identit, and Public Life (unpublished thesis) https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/15604091.pdf (accessed 28 April 2018)
[214] *Ibid*
[215] BBC, Alexander the Great (356-323 BC) http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic_figures/alexander_the_great.shtml (accessed 28 April 2018)
[216] Kyriakos Savvpoulos, The Role of the Egyptian Tradition in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods: Ideology, Culture, Identit, and Public Life (unpublished thesis) https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/15604091.pdf (accessed 28 April 2018)
[217] Cheikh Anta Diop, The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality (translated from French by Mercer Cook) (Paris: Laurance Hill & Co, 1974), p.5.

conceptualization and building of the museum of Alexandria by Ptolemy I was drawn from this agglomeration and conglomeration of cultural ideas and identities and that the notion that it was purely a Greek invention may be an idea too farfetched. What we may ask though is since the Egyptian culture was left untouched, how much of it had influenced the foreign Greek culture?

To answer this question, Savvpoulos, brings to this discussion the observation that, "additionally, the influence of Egyptian tradition in Greek architecture resulted in the formation of the Egyptianising classical architecture. This fact is attested in architectural fragments of the Ptolemaic period buildings, until recently in the Greco-Roman Museum of Alexandria, where ―classical capitals are given some Egyptian features, while conversely, some Egyptian examples are used like classical ones‖ (115). For instance, sometimes the acanthus in Corinthian capitals is replaced by papyrus, while columns with papyrus capitals are also used on baroque supports, such as half-columns or quarter-columns (115-116)."[218] In his account *The African Origin of Civilization*, Diop, elucidates this point by arguing that, "…Greece borrowed from Egypt all the elements of her civilization, even the cult of the gods, and that Egypt was the craddle of civilization"[219] and that, "…the Egyptians were Blacks"[220]

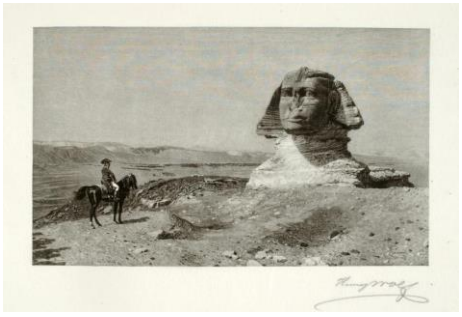
[218] Kyriakos Savvpoulos, The Role of the Egyptian Tradition in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods: Ideology, Culture, Identit, and Public Life (unpublished thesis) https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/15604091.pdf (accessed 28 April 2018)
[219] Cheikh Anta Diop, The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality (translated from French by Mercer Cook) (Paris: Laurance Hill & Co, 1974), p.4.
[220] *Ibid.,* p.1.

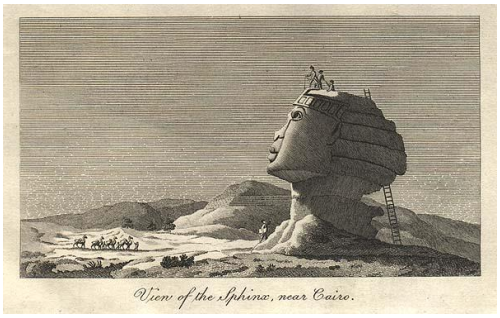
To Diop what we call Greek culture and scholarship in Egypt owes its existence to the Egyptian civilization which was appropriated during the long processes of conqueror and colonization by the Persians, Greeks, Romans etc. By asserting that the world's oldest Egyptian civilization that changed the world was run by black Egyptians, Diop brings another dimension to this already complex discussion, for he argues that in fact blacks gave birth to civilization, not the Greeks as has often argued. And "although the Negro had been the first to discover iron, he had built no cannon; the secret of gunpowder was known only to the Egyptian priests, who used it solely for religious purposes at rites such as the Mysteries of Orisis (cf Cornelius de Pauw's Recherches sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois)."[221] As a consequence Africa fell prey to the enchroaching forces and in the later centuries, as he argues, "…the economic progress of Renaissance Europe spurred on the conquest of Africa, which was rapidly accomplished."[222] And then "the modern Negro slave trade was considered an economic necessity prior to the advent of the machine."[223]

The once a rich people became slaves and chattels of the west and "already during the Middle Ages, the memory of a Negro Egypt that had civilized the world had been blurred by ignorance of the antique tradition hidden in libraries or buried under ruins. It would become even more obscure during those four centuries of slavery"[224], argues Diop. He further foregrounds the argument that, when blacks were erased the memory of the world's civilizations, "…the 'Negro' became synonym for primitive being, 'inferior'

[221] Cheikh Anta Diop, The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality (translated from French by Mercer Cook) (Paris: Laurance Hill & Co, 1974), p.24.
[222] *Ibid.,* p.24.
[223] *Ibid.,* p.24.
[224] *Ibid.,* p.24.

endowed with pre-logical mentality. As the human being is always eager to justify his conduct, they [Europeans] went even further. The desire to legitimize colonization and the slave trade…"[225] But not only this, "they invoked 'the civilizing mission' of the West charged with the responsibility to raise the African to the level of other men [known to us as 'the white man's burden']…"[226] The long shadow of slavery has led may European historiographers to perpetuate the idea of black inferiority, "…despite historical truth – a legend that the Black has always been reduced to slavery by the superior White race with which he has lived, wherever it may have been. This enables whites easily to justify the presence of Negroes in Egypt or in Mesopotamia or Arabia, by decreeing that they were enslaved."[227] And from one generation to another, this "dogma designed to falsify history"[228] was passed and inscribed into the text of the colonizing nations and for centuries the west sought to maintain this falsified history. The Onslaught continued right throughout and by the time Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Egypt in 1799 [Fig.12], and ordered for the nose and lips of the Sphinx that resembled Black Africans to be defaced, the history of black Egyptians had long been erased.





From left to Right: Fig.12 Wood Engraving on paper of Napoleon Bonaparte before the Egyptian Sphinx in 1799 during his invasion of Egypt. Image was engraved by Henry Wolf. Courtesy of The Smithsonian American Art Museum. Fig.13 Drawing of the Egyptian Sphinx drawn by Dominique **Vivant Denon around 1798 before the Sphinx was defaced by Napoleon Bonaparte** Courtsey of The Freeman Institute. http://www.freemaninstitute.com/Collectegypt.htm

[225] Cheikh Anta Diop, The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality (translated from French by Mercer Cook) (Paris: Laurance Hill & Co, 1974), pp.24-25.
[226] *Ibid.,* p.25.
[227] *Ibid,.* p.26.
[228] *Ibid.,* p.26.

In the image on the left, Henry Wolf captures the miniature Bonaparte on his horse back in front of the giant Africa Sphinx he had just defaced, Wolf brings us to this moment of civilizational confrontation, where one civilization erases the other in an intention to wipe off the face of the earth the true identity of the 'vanquished'. For the nose and lips of the Sphinx tell a different story of a once flourishing kingdom, a narrative which sharply contradicts that of the West in which Africa is projected as an ahistorical and 'dark' continent. But something else is also at play here and that is the fact that, beyond its violated nose and lips, the grandeur and unavoidable presence of the Sphinx even at the point of its defacement helps us see the degree to which African civilization had advanced and that such civilizational advancement was cut off by those who came to colonize it. But before the Sphinx was destroyed by Bonaparte, Dominique Vivant had drawn a profile sketch [Fig.13] of it, which corroborates the evidence of the Black Egypt, advocated by Diop, in whose analysis of the image we ascertain the fact that "the profile is neither Greek nor semitic: it is Bantu…"[229] Michael Erevna, poses the questions: Why would Napoleon do a thing like that? Why was it so important to hide the true identity of the ancient Egyptians?"[230]

Erevna's questions have already been discussed and contextualized in the earlier discussions about how the Egyptian history and civilization has over centuries been erased by those who had conquered it from its black natives and then sought to inscribe their own histories. What Napoleon was in fact destroying was just a Sphinx, the entire

[229] Cheikh Anta Diop, The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality (translated from French by Mercer Cook) (Paris: Laurance Hill & Co, 1974), p.ii.
[230] Michael Erevna, What did the Sphinx Look Like Before Napoleon Shot the Nore and Lips Off.? http://revelationnow.net/2015/10/04/what-did-the-sphinx-look-like-before-napoleon-shot-the-nose-and-lips-off/amp/# (accessed 4 May 2018)

black tradition in the history and historicity of Egypt. In her further observation, Erevna intills in us the sense that, to Napoleon, "…the Sphinx with distinct negroid features establishes the ancient Egyptians were in fact a black culture"[231] was a truth too much to bare for it deminishes the myth of Europe as the leader of civilization. This is what is happening here.

What Diop is doing in these historical accounts is that he compels us to ask yet another question: can the Greeks claim origination of the museological practice, when other cultures collected and arranged things too? And through whose lens are the Greeks telling the history of the world: is it through the lens of the conqueror or that of the 'vanquished'? When we only have the names and terminology of the conquerors, what happened to the nomenclature of the 'vanquished'?

In the Greco-Egyptian context, as the country takes commands from a foreign Greek ruler, it would be naïve of us not to suspect some tensions between the Greeks and native Egyptians who now had to submit to a different ruler. To this effect, Savvpoulos posits the sense that, "to be 'Greek' might have meant to be of a higher prestige than to be 'Egyptian'. During the early years of the Ptolemaic reign, only Greeks were permitted to become official citizens of Alexandria, and intermarriages between Greeks and non-Greeks were forbidden. Yet, this rigid segregation became difficult to maintain, since Ptolemaic society was marked more strongly by social stratification than by place

[231] Michael Erevna, What did the Sphinx Look Like Before Napoleon Shot the Nore and Lips Off.? http://revelationnow.net/2015/10/04/what-did-the-sphinx-look-like-before-napoleon-shot-the-nose-and-lips-off/amp/# (accessed 4 May 2018)

of origin (Venit 2002, 10)."[232] And that systems of control were such that, "the succeeding Ptolemies maintained the Greek character of the upper level of the state and army machine…"[233] and above all "the king wanted to have people around him who had the same ethnic and cultural background. Therefore, the use of Greek language and a certain degree of Hellenisation were the necessary preconditions for someone who wanted to reach high positions in the state machinery."[234] As Diop argues, "…history had disrupted…[the] former equilibrium…"[235] and the new one had to be found.

What we are made to ascertain here is the understanding that by the time Ptolemy I took over after the passing of Alexander the Great who took it from the Pharoes before him, Egypt had reached a highest degree multiculturalism, but this multiculturasim was subjected to the dominance of the Greek culture, systems of morality, knowledge and law. It would be through the intersections of these cultural practices and civilizational form within the Egyptian traditions that remained intact that the museum of Alexandria would be born, as "...a community of scholars which was both academic and religious. It was religious in so far as it was centred on a Muses, the Greek deities of artistic and intellectual pursuits, name, the Museum. These scholars were engaged in the study (for instance, medicine, mathematics, astronomy) and in literature (editing the major Greek

[232] Kyriakos Savvpoulos, The Role of the Egyptian Tradition in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods: Ideology, Culture, Identity, and Public Life (unpublished thesis) https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/15604091.pdf (accessed 28 April 2018)
[233] *Ibid*
[234] Kyriakos Savvpoulos, The Role of the Egyptian Tradition in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods: Ideology, Culture, Identit, and Public Life (unpublished thesis) https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/15604091.pdf (accessed 28 April 2018)
[235] Cheikh Anta Diop, The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality (translated from French by Mercer Cook) (Paris: Laurance Hill & Co, 1974), p.23.

texts such as Homer)."[236] To Erskine, "these two institutions [the museum and the library] are often celebrated for their role in the history of scholarship, but they were also the products of the Hellenistic age and of the competition which arose between the successors of Alexander. In many ways these two institutions encapsulate the ideology and policy of the early Ptolemies."[237]

It is worth noting that from these processes of producing, collecting and arranging literary material, the Museum of Alexandria emerges as the powerful institution that defines its 'museumness' through scientific enquiry and scholarship. Its influence provided a base for Aristotle's private library, for Lewis suggests that, "Aristotle's library formed the basis, mainly by means of copies, of the library established at Alexandria, which became the greatest in antiquity."[238] And, "the founders of this library apparently aimed to collect the whole body of Greek literature in the best available copies, arranged in systematic order so as to form the basis of published commentaries. Its collections of papyrus and vellum scrolls are said to have numbered hundreds of thousands. Situated in a temple of the Muses called the Mouseion, it was staffed by many famous Greek writers and scholars, including the grammarian and poet Callimachus (d. *c.* 240 BC), the astronomer and writer Eratosthenes (d. *c.* 194 BC), the philosopher Aristophanes of Byzantium (d. 180 BC), and Aristarchus of Samothrace (d. 145 BC), the foremost critical scholar of antiquity."[239]

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[236] Andrew Erskine, Culture and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt: The Museum and Library of Alexandria in Greece & Rome, Vol. 42, No. 1 (Apr., 1995), pp. 38-48 http://www.jstor.org/stable/643071 (accessed 28 April 2018)
[237] *Ibid*
[238] Geoffrey D. Lewis, History of Museums https://www.britannica.com/topic/history-of-museums-398827 (accessed 28 April 2018)
[239] *Ibid*

Under the rulership of the Ptolemies who wanted ‘to mainatin the Greek character’ within the Egyptian cultural traditions, history suggest to us that the story of Egypt became subsumed by the narrative of the Greeks.

To shared some more light Kyriakos Savvpoulos, argues that, “in previous scholarly reconstructions, Alexandria was portrayed as a Greek city; Alexandria ad Aegyptum, meaning ‘by Egypt’ and not ‘in Egypt’. Traditionally, Alexandria was seen as a city made by Greeks and for Greeks. In contrast, the role of Egyptian traditions in Alexandria has been discussed very little in archaeology and ancient history: it has been interpreted as secondary and therefore of minor importance to the cultural history of the city. Thus, the discussion focused on public and private issues of a ‘Greek colonial’ society, rather than of the capital of Egypt. The most characteristic example of this perspective is Fraser‘s Ptolemaic Alexandria (1972), which still is one of the most reliable and complete works on the Hellenistic city.”[240]

Whilst the physical establishment of the museum can be traced to Africa’s Egypt, however, is it of great importance to note the fact that it was ironically conceptualized by Ptolemy I, a colonial ruler, convinced by Demetrius of Phalerum (Athenian orator, statesman, and philosopher). But this statement may present more problems if left unchallenged. First of all, were there no similar institutions in Egypt before the arrival of the Greeks in Egypt and what were they named? Could it be that Egypt had it own collecting institutions that it had fashioned around schorlary endeavours, astronomy and

[240] Kyriakos Savvpoulos, The Role of the Egyptian Tradition in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods: Ideology, Culture, Identit, and Public Life (unpublished thesis) https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/15604091.pdf (accessed 28 April 2018)

science? Could the ancient Hieroglyphics reflective of this pressuposition? Could it also be that we know about the Museum of Alexandria because few Greek scholars such as Strabo had made refrence to them, and if so what about undecoded Egyptian traditions that predates the arrival of the Greeks in Egypt? Is this the problem of history or existence?

By attributing the foundation of this institution to the Greeks are not we erasing the Egyptian traditions that date back to the period of Dynasties about which Alan Brian Lloyd states, "Egypt began its historic period c. 3200 bce. By a convention derived from *Manetho this era is divided into 31 dynasties which are currently grouped into several phases: the Thinite or Archaic period (Dynasties 1–2, c. 3200–2700) is the formative stage of pharaonic civilization. The Old Kingdom (Dynasties 3–4, c. 2700–2159) sees the establishment of a highly centralized state which peaked in the Fourth Dynasty with the builders of the Giza pyramids. Foreign relations, peaceful and otherwise, were maintained with Nubia to the south, Libya, and Asia, but there was no attempt to establish an empire. Culturally, this age is distinguished by work of the highest quality in architecture, sculpture, and painting. The fabric of government collapsed at the end of the Sixth Dynasty to create the First Intermediate period (Dynasties 7–mid-11, c. 2159–2040), an age of political dissolution and cultural decline. The country was reunited by Montuhotep II c"[241]

[241] Alan Brian Lloyd, Egypt pre-Ptolemic http://classics.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.001.0001/acrefore-9780199381135-e-2355?product=orecla#acrefore-9780199381135-e-2355 (accessed 29 April 2018)

By singling out Ptolemy I as the 'father' of the museum of Alexandria, are not we perpetuating the single story, thus positioning the Greeks as the leaders of human civilization, when in actual fact there were other African civilizations that produced knowledge and gathered things before the arrival of the Greeks in Egypt. Is it not the case that, "ancient Egypt whose pharaohs first came to power nearly 5000 years ago, pioneered one of the world's earliest advanced civilizations"[242] in the period before the Greek rulership in Egypt? Furth to this we may also ask, was Egypt the only civilizational power at the time?

To animate this question, we turn no other source than the oldest university in continuous operation in the world, Al-Qarawiyyin founded in Fez, Morocco by Fatima Muhammad Al-Fihri in 859? To give much more substance to this claim, Oum Al Banine Al Fehria, records that, "in 859, from the 10th to the 12th century, the Al Qarawiyyin mosque developed into a university which became an important centre of education, and one of the first Islamic and most prestigious universities in the world."[243] It is further recorded that, "…the University's outstanding calibre attracted Gerber of Auvergne who later became Pope Sylvester II and went on to introduce Arabic numerals and the concept of zero to medieval Europe. One of the university's most

[242] Richard Watts, Egypt in Encyclopedia of Africa (eds) Kwame Anthony Appiah & Henry Louis Gates Jr. (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2010), p.398.
[243] Oum Al Banine Al Fehria, Greet Fatima Al-Fihri: Lady of Fez and Founder of Al-Qarawiyyin http://islamicpostonline.com/article/greet_fatima_al_fihri_lady_fez_and_founder_al_qarawiyyin-561 (Accessed 7 August 2015)

famous students was a Jesish physician and philosopher, Maimonides [Moses ben Maimon]"[244]

The existence of this oldest African institution of learning and many others similar to this in the logic of human civilizations stand as an institutional critique against the claim of the West as the 'maker' of universal history. Apart from tangible buildings, what about the oral histories which were also a public demonstration of knowledge and culture?

It is against this backdrop, the multi-layered argument foregrounded in these passages that I argue that the Greeks may have given birth to the term "museum", "Mouseion", but the functionality did not belong to them. It is only through the British colonial history and historicity, that the Greeks were positioned as leaders of humankind.

When the British Museum opened its doors on 15 January in 1759, its conception of a museum was drawn from the Museum of Alexandria and this became the model from which other museums in the British Isles and colonies were built. Cecil J. Sibbett, captures this observation with precision, when he argues that, "during the early and middle nineteenth century many museums, in the British Isles and elsewhere, were founded on the pattern of the British Museum (1753): e.g., Ottawa (1840), Toronto (1855), the Smithsonian Institution in Washington (1846), the Indian Museum in

[244] African Americans, Muslim Heritage, Society, Fatima al-Fihri: Founder of World's Very First University https://www.whyislam.org/muslim-heritage/fatima-al-fihri-founder-of-worlds-very-first-university/ (accessed 29 April 2018)

Calcutta (1814), the Australian Museum in Sydney (1853), and the South African Museum in Cape Town (1855)." [245]

In South Africa the idea of the Museum of Alexandria found expression in the coexistence of the South African Museum and South African Public Library (SAPL) which was proclaimed "on 20 March 1818 by Lord Charles Somerset, the Governor of the Cape…" and the SAPL whose building was opened to the public on 7 January 1822, with the appointment of "…the Rev. G. Hough and the Rev. F.R. Kaufmann…" as the first librarians in 1821. The new Museum and Library building was inaugurated by Prince Alfred on 18 September 1860 and "…was only completed in April 1864 – more than six years since the laying of the foundation stone, and at a cost to the Treasury of £15 000, i.e. about twice as much as the original estimate."[246] This idea of the "two rooms in the public library..."[247] with museum collections and library books housed under one roof [Fig.14 & Fig.15], was clearly appropriated from the Museum of Alexandria, for in his inauguration speech Sir George Grey, "…trusted that the SAPL [and the S.A. Museum], would rival the library of Alexandria in extent and that in might become 'a great mine for all South Africa…'"[248] To add on to Grey's statement, Sibett further notes, "this association of the library and the museum, reminiscent of the library

[245] *Cecil James Sibbett, Foreword, The South African Museum Cape Town: 1855-1955 (Cape Town: The South African Museum, 1955),* p.1.
[246] C. Pama, The South African Library: Its history, collwections and librarians (Cape Town: A.A. BALKEMA, 1968), p.101.
[247] *Cecil James Sibbett, Foreword, The South African Museum Cape Town: 1855-1955 (Cape Town: The South African Museum, 1955), p.1.*
[248] C. Pama, The South African Library: Its history, collwections and librarians (Cape Town: A.A. BALKEMA, 1968), p.103.

and the museum founded by Ptolemy I at Alexandria has continued more or less closely up to the present day."[249]

From left to right: Fig.14 Noah's Arch display: The Old Museum in the west wing of the South African Library, looking east torwards the entrance (about 1882). Fig.15 The space but now looking west Photos taken by Crewe. Source: The South African Museum Cape Town 1855-1955

From the model of the Museum of Alexandria through to the formation of various museums across the world, we have so far ascertained and traced the idea of a museum back to the Museum of Alexandria in Egypt, but what we have not done, though is to look into the functionality of the colonial or 'modern' museum that later emerged as an offshoot from the idea of this museological form.

In the next part of the study I want to explore the processes by which the colonial museum came and race theories came into fusion, through the voyages, expeditions and other scientific activities of collecting human remains of the 'discovered'.

[249] *Cecil James Sibbett, Foreword, The South African Museum Cape Town: 1855-1955 (Cape Town: The South African Museum, 1955), p.1.*

2.1.4 Voyages of 'Discovery' and Collection

In their account, "*The Origins of Museums"*, Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor provide us with a clear picture of the relationship between collecting and "the voyages of discovery", when they argue that "the discovery of the New World and the opening of contacts with Africa, South-East Asia and the Far East revolutionized the way in which people saw the world and their place within it."[250] This 'discovery' was accompanied by how Europe looks at the rest of the world and was in making reference to Pieterse's work, Magubane reiterates this point by asserting that, "...in the process of 'discovering' the world, Europe's representation of the continents and its place among the continents of the world was already influenced by imperial matrix."[251]

He goes further to quote Pieterse as having argued that, "Europe was represented as a queen with crown and sceptre, flanked by a horse [Fig. 16]; Asia as a woman in garments adorned with gold, pearls and other precious stones, carrying spices, herbs and fragrant incense, accompanied by a camel [Fig.17]; Africa as a dark woman with loose hair, almost naked, who wears a coral necklace and earrings, has an elephant trunk on her head, and is holding a scorpion in her right hand and a cornucopia containing ears of corn in the left [Fig. 18]. On one side of her is a ferocious lion and on the other are vipers and venomous serpents. The cornucopia is a reference to the time Hadrian, when the Carthage was one of Rome's breadbaskets; the scorpion and lion

[250] Oliver Impey and Arthur Macgregor, *The Origins of Museums* (United States of America: Oxford Press University, 1985), p.2.
[251] Bernard M. Magubane, Race and the Construction of the Dispensable Other (South Africa: University of South Africa, 2007), p.50.

refer to classical sources as well"[252] To Magubane "this was the indication of things to come"[253] and the voyages and scientific expeditions gave credence to the acquisition of what Impey and MacGregor term as "new-found knowledge."[254]

From left to right: Fig. 16, Fig. 17 & Fig. 17 Cesare Rita's iconographic images representing the three continents (Europe, Asia and Africa), published in his book of Emblems entitled *Iconologia* in the 1600s

2.1.5 Cabinets of Curiosity

In the work of Elizabeth Ewen and Stuart Ewen *Typecasting*, DeMille, is quoted as having observed that, "in an age of scientific discovery and commercial expeditions, familiarity with natural history, and with the myriad curiosities of a newly discovered world, was beginning to be seen as a sign of status among cultural elites"[255]. And "the rise of scientific reliquaries – or curiosity cabinets, as they were commonly known – was

[252] Bernard M. Magubane, Race and the Construction of the Dispensable Other (South Africa: University of South Africa, 2007), p.50.
[253] *Ibid.,* p.50.
[254] Oliver Impey and Arthur Macgregor, *The Origins of Museums* (United States of America: Oxford Press University, 1985), p. 3.
[255] DeMille, The Autobiography of Cecil B. DeMille in Elizabeth Ewen & Stuart Ewen, Typecasting: On the Arts and Sciences of Human Inequality (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2006), p.34.

spurred on by the Royal Science of London for Improving Natural Knowledge, an organization founded in 1660 and incorporated two years later"[256].

The Ewens further quote Paul Farber to have argued that, "these collections were intimately connected to the expansion of European colonization"[257]. He is noted to have further stated that, "domination of markets, natives and nature all went hand in hand. The greater presence of Europeans worldwide and the potential commercial value of many natural products stimulated systematic collecting on a hitherto unimaginable scale, creating opportunities for naturalists to explore exotic regions"[258]

There was an appetite to collect things and "a growing trade in collectibles became a prominent of aristocratic and upper-middle-class life. The more exotic the specimen the greater the price…so widespread was the appetite for putting together impressive collections and exhibiting them in an interesting way that manuals were published directing amateur collectors on the proper aesthetic arrangement of their cabinets"[259]. And "included in these manuals were detailed suggestions on how to construct elaborate dioramas for the display of their acquisitions"[260] Strange enough, perhaps not so strange "alongside animal, mineral, and plant exotica, collections also included bizarre arrays of human remains…[and]…the bones of none European people were common items of display, either skulls or entire skeletons. Males and female brains and genitalia, preserved in jars of formaldehyde, were highly esteemed possessions, as

[256] Elizabeth Ewen & Stuart Ewen, Typecasting: On the Arts and Sciences of Human Inequality (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2006), p.34.
[257] *Ibid.,* p.35.
[258] *Ibid.,* p.35.
[259] *Ibid.,* p.35.
[260] *Ibid.,* p.35.

were 'abortives put up in pickle."[261] And "these were the macabre spoils of imperial conquest, visible evidence of 'human oddities' representing or, more likely, misrepresenting native peoples from around the world. If Enlightenment men took pride in their hunger for worldly knowledge, these gruesome specimens in their private museums revealed the dark side of their erudition, one rooted in the callous plunder of indigenous cultures that was an intrinsic part of Europe's rise to world dominance"[262]

2.1.6 Exhibiting People

In his account, *Clicko: the Wild Dancing Bushman* Neil Parsons also argues that "European fascination with the 'Hottentots' and 'Bushmen' of Southern Africa resulted in the semi-nude exhibition of Khoekhoe woman named Sara (Saartje) Baartman for private viewing in London and Paris in 1810 – 16"[263]. Further to this "a 'genuine' live Bushman was exhibited at a holiday fair in Elberfeld, Germany, 1826. In England, a boy aged about 13 and a girl aged about 6, from the Limpopo in the northern Transvaal, were displayed with audience approval between 1845 and 1847, and appear then to have returned home."[264] He also notes that, "they were followed by a competing exhibition known as Bosjemans, two men and two women and a baby from the Cape, who were first shown in Limpopo in November 1846. [And] the Bosjemans were

[261] Elizabeth Ewen & Stuart Ewen, Typecasting: On the Arts and Sciences of Human Inequality (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2006), p.36.
[262] *Ibid.,* p.36.
[263] Neil Parsons, Clicko: The Wild Dancing Bushman (South Africa: Jacana Media (Pty) Ltd, 2009), p.14.
[264] *Ibid.,* p.14.

regarded with almost universal opprobrium. *The Times* called them a 'stunted family of African Dwarfs, in appearance little about the monkey tribe…"[265]

Magubane also notes that, "in 1845 two 'Bushmen' children, a 15-year-old boy and an urelated 8-year-old girl provided 'living' illustrations' for a paper read before the Ethnological Society. Following their use as specimens they went on display at the Egyptian Hall."[266] He goes further to quote Richard D. Altick as having argued that, "the children from the African bush were co-starred with a fine specimen of the great ursine baboon, with some exceedingly rare varieties of the kind of tricks that monkeys were taught to perform. These exhibits were illustrations of a particular sub-discipline of Natural History: 'Ethnology', or 'the Science of Human Races'"[267]. And further to this "in 1847 an even larger troupe of 'Bushmen' landed in Liverpool. They were first introduced to the metropolis of England on 17 May 1847…"[268] It is said that I was at his lecture that Robert Knox introduced "…five Bosjemans or Bush people – two males, two females, and an infant, the only specimen of this singular race of human beings that have visited Europe."[269] In his book *The Race of Men*, Knox makes all sorts of justification on matters he himself admitted he had limited experience of, for example: "First, as regards mere physical strength, the dark races are generally much inferior to the Saxon and Celt; the bracelets worn by the Kaffirs, when placed on our own arms, prove this. Secondly, in size of brain they seem also considerably inferior to the above

[265] Neil Parsons, Clicko: The Wild Dancing Bushman (South Africa: Jacana Media (Pty) Ltd, 2009), p.14.
[266] Bernard M. Magubane, Race and the Construction of the Dispensable Other (South Africa: University of South Africa, 2007), p.113.
[267] *Ibid.,* p.113.
[268] *Ibid.,* p.113.
[269] *Ibid.,* p.114.

races, and no doubt also to the Sarmatian and the Slavonic. Thirdly, the form of the skull differs from ours, and is placed differently on the neck; the texture of the brain is I think generally darker, and the white part more strongly fibrous; but I speak from extremely limited experience."[270]

What boggles the mind is the fact that even when he had the moment of insight where he confesses that he has extremely less experience about the subject and yet he continues to make judgements. In this context Knox transgresses the morals of his profession, a matter which propels us to reason as to: what compelled him to do this? His use of gravitas from his career as a respected scientist to launch a foray to shape debate in the understanding of science, suggest to us that he was stalking the claim in the arena as a way of colonizing human knowledge. It is in this context that Magubane argues that Knox, "…matched the mood of the most powerful political and economic interests of the time and provided them with a 'scientific' and moral cover for the depredations of imperialism."[271] And in fact "Knox's moral anatomy was one of the earliest and most comprehensive of the nineteenth-century attempts to biologise social relations, and his popular expression of race as the key to science theory and social practice made a considerable impact on the contemporaries"[272]

[270] Robert Knox, Preface The Races of Men (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchhard, 1850). p.151.
[271] Bernard M. Magubane, Race and the Construction of the Dispensable Other (South Africa: University of South Africa, 2007), p.115.
[272] Richards in Bernard M. Magubane, Race and the Construction of the Dispensable Other (South Africa: University of South Africa, 2007), p.115.

In what Lindfors calls in Parsons, “ethnological business”[273], we are also made aware of yet another display of African children on the theatres of Western metropolis, “Flora, aged 16, and Martinus, aged about 14, were bright and affectionate, and were presented before Queen Victoria and Prince Albert for Royal endorsement”[274] The narrative goes on to inform us that “Martinus died a few years later, and Flora became one of P.T. Barnum’s Little People at New York’s American Museum in 1860, advertised as the ‘missing link’ between apes and people, before returning to England and dying there in 1864”[275] It is possible to speculate that, these are only few stories among many untold stories of the disappeared African Natives whose fate remains unknown. And further to this it is possible to suggest that it may have been as an outcome of these fairs and similar typological activities that may have given Sir Godfrey Lagden the voice to refer to indigenous people “as very low down on social scale…polygamists and cannibals…almost without intelligence”[276].

Lindfors also argues that, “throughout Europe native Africans were stereotyped as brutish, dimwitted, naive, emotional, undisciplined, uncultured - in short, children of nature who needed to be civilized and domesticated”[277] and the European voyagers went out to “civilized” the “uncivilized”, the “great unwashed” and what Frantz Omar Fanon would call the “wretched of the earth”.

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[273] Neil Parsons, Clicko: The Wild Dancing Bushman (South Africa: Jacana Media (Pty) Ltd, 2009), p.14.
[274] *Ibid.,* p.15.
[275] Neil Parsons, Clicko: The Wild Dancing Bushman (South Africa: Jacana Media (Pty) Ltd, 2009), p.15.
[276] *Ibid.,* p.15.
[277] Bernth Lindfors, ‘Hottentot, Bushman, Kaffir: Taxonomic Tendencies in Nineteenth-Century Racial Iconography’ Nordic Journal of African Studies, 5(2) (1996), p.1. <http://www.njas.helsinki.fi/pdf-files/vol5num2/lindfors.pdf > (accessed 10 June 2017)

2.1.7 'Discoverer' and 'Discovered'

There is no need to ask who the voyager was, for Margaret Hodgen, in the *Problem of Savagery*, answers this question, when she states that, "it is often said that the Renaissance discovered man, and the perplexities associated with this discovery were profound. But even so, the man discovered was a familiar fellow, a white European".[278]

Hodgen presents us with a scenario of the 'discoverer' and the 'discovered', both whose paths became a convergence point, from which 'new power' relations (master-slave) were born and contested through ferocious confrontations between the two adversaries (the European and Indigene). She presents us with a historical fact, whose outcome we all know now, that the 'discovered' also became a collected specimen, the 'other', ready to be subjected, classified and dissected under the critical and patronizing gaze of the European conqueror ('self'). And as an outcome of this, Fox is quoted by Gary Foley as having argued that: "…the colonial museum existed in a political space defined from the imperial centre"[279]. The idea of naming and owning of things therefore becomes a point at which the modern museum reasserted what Michael Ames terms as the 'museumification'[280] of its anthropological and scientific interests on the cultures and histories of others.

[278] Margaret T. Hodgen, Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), p.358.

[279] Gary Foley, *The Enlightenment, Imperialism, and the Evolution of Museums* (2000) [online] http://www.kooriweb.org/foley/essays/essay_3html (Accessed 18 September 2011), p.3.

[280] see Michael Ames, *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992), p.140.

In his review of Adulphe Delegorgue's voyages to the Cape, Tiyambe Zeleza takes us back in time to look into the nature of the relationship between the "discoverer" and the "discovered" and its aftermath, "always the hunter, Delegorgue appraised the Zulus the same way he prized the animals he hunted, discovered and catalogued. The specimen he sought to cart away to museums in Europe."[281] To Delegorgue there was no distinction between the animals he hunted and the Zulus and other native groups he encountered, all was part of the landscape that had to be studied. Zeleza's argument finds its place in Alice L. Conklin's observation as discussed in Daniel Sherman, "this greater presence of skulls among the peoples of Africa subtly echoed the evolutionary racial hierarchy presented in the Anthropology Gallery, in which Africans were implied to be the least developed of peoples."[282]

Impey, MacGregor, Zeleza and Conklin provide us with an extremely important puzzle piece, which is often missing in how museums are conceptualized and negotiated in contemporary scholarly engagements. They take us back to where it all started, the dialogical politics embedded in the colonial and corrosive gaze, the need to classify, analyze and represent the culture and 'exotic' objects of the 'other'. It is at this point that Bhabha asks: "what is the nature of the hidden threat of the partial gaze?"[283] What we may perhaps add to Bhabha's question is: who has the right to classify whom? To Bhabha "in order to understand the productivity of colonial power it is crucial to

[281] Tiyambe Zeleza, South Africa: Through the Eyes of a Nineteenth Century Tourist.1992 http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/3820078.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Adc0ed0446ea7047b4a8d59cbfb9bc4cc Vol. 23 No. 3 (Autumn 1992) (Accessed 10 July 2016), p.148.
[282] Alice C. Conklin, *Skulls on Display: The Science of Race in Paris's Musee de L'Homme, 1928-1950* in *Museums & Difference*, ed.. by Daniel J. Sherman (USA: Indiana University Press, 2008), pp. 267-268.
[283] Homi K. Bhabha, 1994. *The Location of Culture* (USA: Routledge), p.89.

construct its regime of truth, not to subject its representations to normalizing judgment. Only then does it become possible to understand the productive ambivalence of the object of colonial discourse – that 'otherness' which at once an object of desire and derision…"[284]

Bhabha's colonial discourse of cultural hierarchization requires what many have referred to as an 'institutional critique.' The process of collecting these exotic 'object[s] of desire and derision'[285] and peoples of the 'new world[s]'[286] as specimens to serve the purpose of 'science', was not without its own problems. Because what was celebrated as an 'Age of Enlightenment'[287] in Europe, later became a point at which European institutions such as museums found themselves in full confrontations with the former European colonies, as they claim their cultural object and ancestors' human remains back to their places of origin. These specific cases are explored quite extensively in various publications.

This centers whiteness as the essence of humanity, which ensured psychological security as Europeans ventured into the unknown, but also reinforced whiteness as power.

Since power is a force through which domination is asserted, and sustained and considering the long history of such domination in the socio-political, cultural and geo-

[284] Homi K. Bhabha, 1994. *The Location of Culture* (USA: Routledge), p.67.
[285] *Ibid.,* p.67.
[286] Oliver Impey and Arthur Macgregor, *The Origins of Museums* (United States of America: Oxford University Press, 1985), p.2.
[287] Henry B. Garland, et al. *The Age of Enlightenment 1715-1789* (Great Britain:PENGUIN BOOKS, 1979)

political domain, it would be naive of us to divorce the heregmonic structure of this power from the sustained construction of whiteness as a domain of scholarly thought and founding matrix of western values of existence and recognition.

In the 'Age of Discovery', the voyager, sent as a colonial representative, had to find ways of understanding and dominating his environment and the processes of classification and giving name to things became a tool through which he created himself as normal and a pathology of the 'exotic' type, Giuseppe Olmi records that "…Aldrovandi never tired of exhorting 'doctors and students of medicine' to apply themselves 'with all their powers' to the study of 'plants, animals and things discovered in the ground'…The essential practical purpose behind these scientists' museums and botanic gardens was that of providing opportunities for the first-hand observation of natural objects."[288]

In studying the theoretical foundations as laid by the *'fathers'* (Aldrovandi, Bordeu, Barthez, Blumenbach, Diderot, Bichat, Linnaeus, Buffon and others) of the "Western" theoretical regiments, one is made to make a close association between discovery, naming, classification and ownership. That which you name and classify could also be your property, because now you have created a vernacular to dissect its anatomy. And notions of 'purity' were at the centre of processes of naming and classification to the extent as Harvey Blume reminds that "the scramble for new means of appropriating and

[288] Giuseppe Olmi, *Science-Honour-Metaphor: Italian Cabinets of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* in Oliver Impey and Arthur Macgregor *(eds.), The Origins of Museums* (United States of America: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 6.

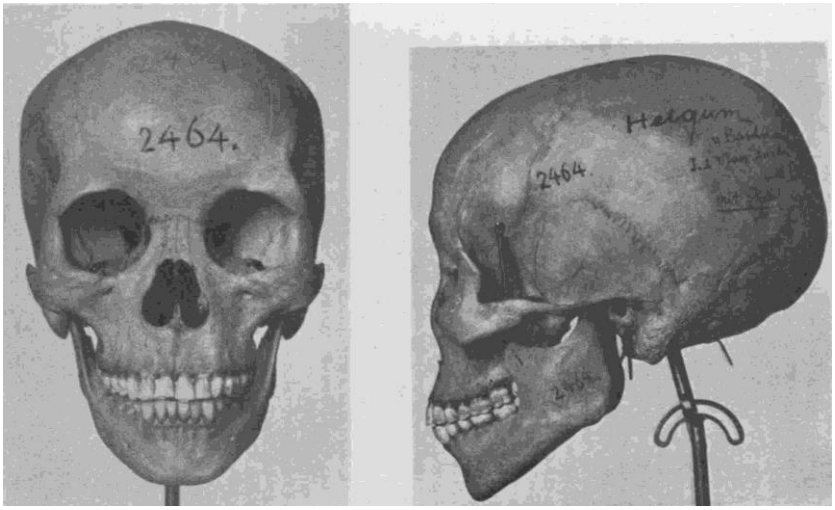
representing reality was as typical of the time as the scramble for colonial possessions."[289]

According to Morris "from the scientific perspective 'purity' was a notion derived from the Linnean systems of classification. Linnaeus considered each race to have been homogenous at its creation…[and that]…variations seen by the anthropologist were impurities…"[290]. He "illustrated how the act of creating nomenclature, the act of naming, hold enormous power. [And] the process of naming, and often re-naming – for human beings and for hominid fossils – would continue to have greater power. And the matter of who does the naming also indicates who hold that power"[291] Morris also brings to our attention the fact that, "in this, Linneaus was following the philosophy of Plato whereby each species (or individual) had an 'essence' of 'archetype' that reflected the eternal ideal"[292]. And "the best way to assess the racial purity of any individual was to compare it to a 'type', an ideal individual who possessed all of the important characteristics of the race. The technique of racial description which developed from these ideas became known as typology"[293].

In this practice, Morris expatiates on the fact that, "the 'best' type specimens were skeletal remains that had been obtained from individuals who were 'known-in-life' as

[289] Harvey Blume, Ota Benga and the Barnum Perplex in Bernth, Lindfors, Africans on Display: Studies in Ethnological Show Business (USA & South Africa: Indiana University Press, 1999), p.192.
[290] Alan G. Morris, Trophy Skulls, Museums and the San in Pippa Skotnes (ed.), Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen (Cape Town: Cape Town University Press, 1996), p.67.
[291] Christina Kuljian, Darwin's Hunch (South Africa: Jacana Media (Pty) Ltd, 2016), p.24.
[292] Alan G. Morris, Trophy Skulls, Museums and the San in Pippa Skotnes (ed.), Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen (Cape Town: Cape Town University Press, 1996), p.67.
[293] Alan G. Morris, Trophy Skulls, Museums and the San in Pippa Skotnes (ed.), Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen (Cape Town: Cape Town University Press, 1996), pp.67-68.

pure ‘Bushmen’ [Fig.19 & Fig.20] or ‘Hottentots’, so such specimens were the most sought after and treasured…and it is here that the intersection between science, museums and genocide occurs.”[294]



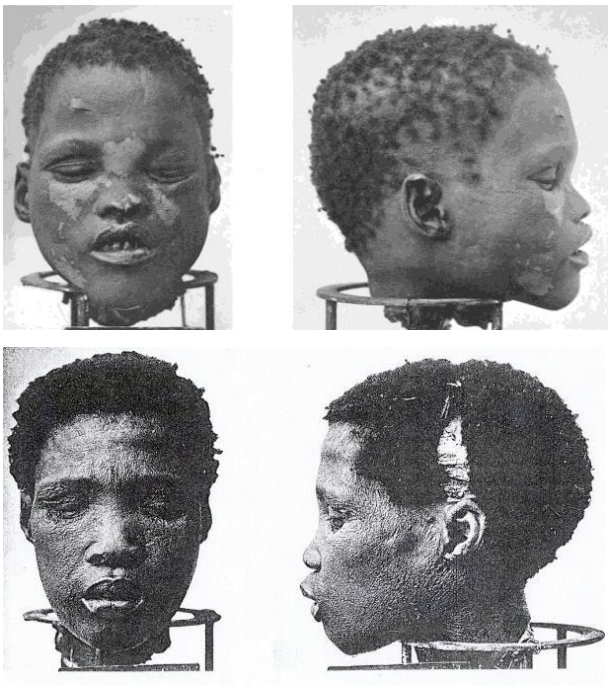
Left to right: Fig.19 Front and Fig 20 Profile photographs of a Heiqum [Hai\om] in a “scientific article” about “Pygmies and Bushmen” of 1914 (Source: Luschan, F. Von: 1914. Pygmaen und Buschmanner. Zeitschrift F. Ethnologie, Vol. pages 154-176. (Source: The San Images and Identities, p.11)

2.2 Namibian Genocide

Across the borders of South Africa, in the then South-West Africa presently known as Namibia, where the Germans had full control over the populace in the South between 1884-1915, we learn from history that in the “…concentration camps, female Herero and Nama prisoners were forced to boil the severed heads of their own people. The skulls of the dead Herero and Nama [Fig.21, Fig.22, Fig.23, Fig.24 Fig,25 & Fig.26] were then placed in crates [Fig.27] and shipped to museums, collections, and universities in Germany”[295] It is rather revealing to realize the gravity and depth of inhumanity that one

[294] Alan G. Morris, Trophy Skulls, Museums and the San in Pippa Skotnes (ed.), Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen (Cape Town: Cape Town University Press, 1996), pp.67-68
[295] The Tragic Story of El Negro: The man stuffed and displayed like a wild animal, 2016 https://mrdivis.wordpress.com/2016/09/27/the-story-of-el-negro/ [accessed 10 October 2017].

group of human beings would do this to another group of humans whom they deemed lesser beings, because of the pigmentation of their skin and ways of being in the heterogenous world.



From left to right: Fig.21, Fig.22, Fig 23, Fig.24, Fig. 25 & Fig 26] Front and profile side of the severed heads of the Herero/Nama Shark Island prisoners used for scientific experimentation by the Germans. Photograph courtesy of the National Archives of Namibia.

From top to bottom: Fig.27 Postcard image of the German Soldiers packing Herero and Nama skulls into boxes to be sold to Museums, scientists in Germany for race experimentation. Fig.28 Back side of the postcard with a stamp and inscription on it

In his argument, *Genocide Matters*, Hanning Melber, is of the view that these images and geographical terrains where these heinous acts had occurred remain a tangible proof of colonial crimes that were committed in South-West Africa by the Germans and that "German colonial warfare in the then South West Africa between 1904 and 1908 meets the definition of genocide."[296] The poignancy and power of these images is carefully captured by Memory Biwa in her unpublished thesis when she states that, "the power of the photographs lies in the fact that photographs allow the audience to identify with familiar images of activities between individuals. This property of images of photographs in which one is able to see the 'truth' in the images of the past has dramatically changed the way in which memories are created."[297]

What could Biwa be implying by 'truth'? Whose truth: that of the victim or that of the perpetrator? In the South Western African context there can be one truth and its veracity is as Melber puts it, an extermination order was issued to wipe out the entire group of people through the barrel of a gun and starvation and this order was normalized and celebrated through correspondences and images that were circulated between South West Africa and Germany.

This presupposition finds expression in David Olusoga and Casper W. Erichsen's account *The Kaiser's Holocaust* when they remind us that, "these postcards celebrating the extermination of the Herero and Nama or revelling in their powerlessness were in

[296] Henning Melber, Genocide Matters: Negotiating a Namibian-German Past in the Present. Stchproben. Vienna Journal of African Studies (Issue 33/2017 (forthcoming), p.1.
[297] Memory Biwa, 'Toa Tama !Khams Ge': Remembering the War in NamaKhoeland, 1903-1908 (unpublished thesis), p.20.

wide circulation"[298], amongst the German soldiers and between the German colony and its Empire. Whilst to museums, these human skulls and photographs later became 'raw material' earmarked for race science, to indigenous peoples of South-West Africa and the rest of the African continent, this was a clear indication of the nefarious omen that had come with the arrival of western modernity at whose 'heart' lies notions of extermination.

The photographs reveal yet another compelling 'truth' which is the fact that in South West Africa's context, and perhaps others too, 'modernity', meant flattening out Africa's socio-political, cultural, spiritual and economic landscape to make way for German settlement and by default European 'modernity' and in South Africa it was the Dutch and the British.

This erasure of indigenous people's ways of being was not an organic process coordinated through the forces of nature, but a determined and carefully orchestrated act championed to create a safe haven for white settlement in southern Africa. To this effect we return to Melber who brings to our attention the fact that it was in fact "the German commander, general Lothar von Trotha [Fig.29], [who] issued on 2nd October 1904 an extermination order…"[299] The order was written in German and has been translated to English by Jan-Bart Gewald:

[298] David Olusoga and Casper W. Erichsen, The Kaiser's Holocaust: Germany's Forgotten Genocide (London: Faber and Faber, 2010), p.213.
[299] Henning Melber, Genocide Matters: Negotiating a Namibian-German Past in the Present. Stchproben. Vienna Journal of African Studies (Issue 33/2017 (forthcoming), p.1.

“I, the great General of the German troops, send this letter to the Herero people.

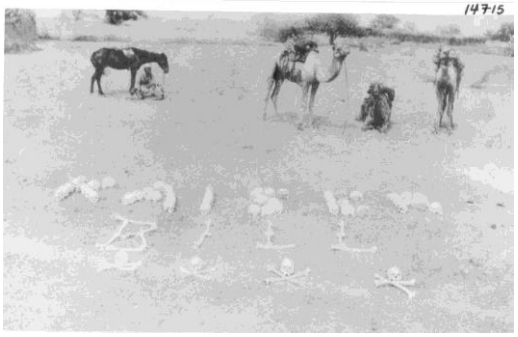
The Herero are no longer German subjects. They have murdered and stolen, they have cut off the ears, noses and other body-parts of wounded soldiers, now out of cowardice they no longer wish to fight. I say to the people: Anyone who delivers a captain will receive 1000 Mark, whoever delivers Samuel* will receive 5000 Mark.

The Herero people must however leave the land. If the populace does not do this I will force them with the Groot Rohr [Cannon]. Within the German borders every Herero, with or without a gun, with or without cattle, will be shot. I will no longer accept women and children, I will drive them back to their people or I will let them be shot at.

These are my words to the Herero people.

The great General of the mighty German Kaiser”[300]

[300] Lotha Von Trotha, translated by Jan-Bart Gewald in The Extermination Order by Ramona Ostowski, 2013 https://weareproudtopresent.wordpress.com/2013/11/01/the-extermination-order/ [accessed 4 November 2017]

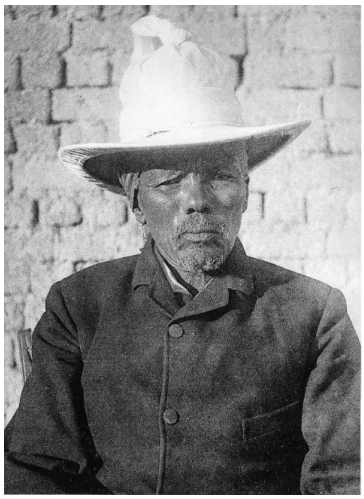


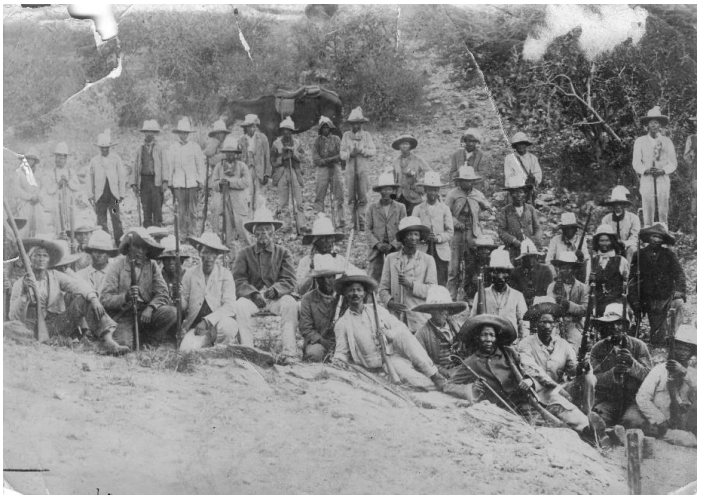
From left to right: Fig.29 Photo of Lieutenant General Lothar von Throtha. Fig.30 Image of the starving Herero who escaped through the arid Kalahari desert. Fig.31 Kaiser's Bill being written on the ground through an assembling of human skulls. Photos courtesy of the National Archives of Namibia.

Having been pushed by the German soldiers into the desert during the war of 1904-1908 Melber records that, "tens of thousands died of thirst or hunger on their way to neighbouring Bechuanaland (today's Botswana), where descendants of the surviving Ovaherero are still living."[301] The skeletal remains of the dead were collected in large quantities for purposes of trade and 'science'. In the lawsuit court document filed against the German government it is stated that, "some of the human remains that were wrongfully taken and transported to Germany were sold to the American Museum of Natural History in New York, where they remain today."[302] Melber, further states that, "several of the Nama communities (in German insulted as 'Hottentotten') under chief Hendrik Witbooi [Fig.32 & Fig.33] and other leaders rose after witnessing the warfare

[301] Henning Melber, Genocide Matters: Negotiating a Namibian-German Past in the Present. Stchproben. Vienna Journal of African Studies (Issue 33/2017 (forthcoming), p.1.
[302] Vekuii Rukoro, Johannes Isaack etal, Civ. No. 17-0062: Amended Class Action Complaint filed 02/14/18 in New York

against the Ovaherero in late 1904. They resorted to a guerilla strategy and engaged in the colonial army for years"[303], until the death of chief Witbooi in October 1905.





From left to right: Fig.32 Portrait photo of Chief Witbooi. Fig.33 Chief Witbooi in the midst of his soldiers. Photos courtesy of the National Archives of Namibia

The period between 1904 – 1908 was the most severe and critical period in the life of indigenous people of South-West Africa. It's a period that was marked with the proclamation of the aforementioned extermination order and the establishment of places such as Shark Island [Fig.34] also known as the Island of Death, which was "…one of the three small inlets that shielded Lüderitz harbour from the South Atlantic"[304] and became one of the concentration camps that were built by the Germans to orchestrate acts of genocide targeted at exterminating the Herero and Nama for German settlement in the area.

[303] Henning Melber, Genocide Matters: Negotiating a Namibian-German Past in the Present. Stchproben. Vienna Journal of African Studies (Issue 33/2017 (forthcoming), p.3.
[304] David Olusoga and Casper W. Erichsen, The Kaiser's Holocaust: Germany's Forgotten Genocide (London: Faber and Faber, 2010), p.208.

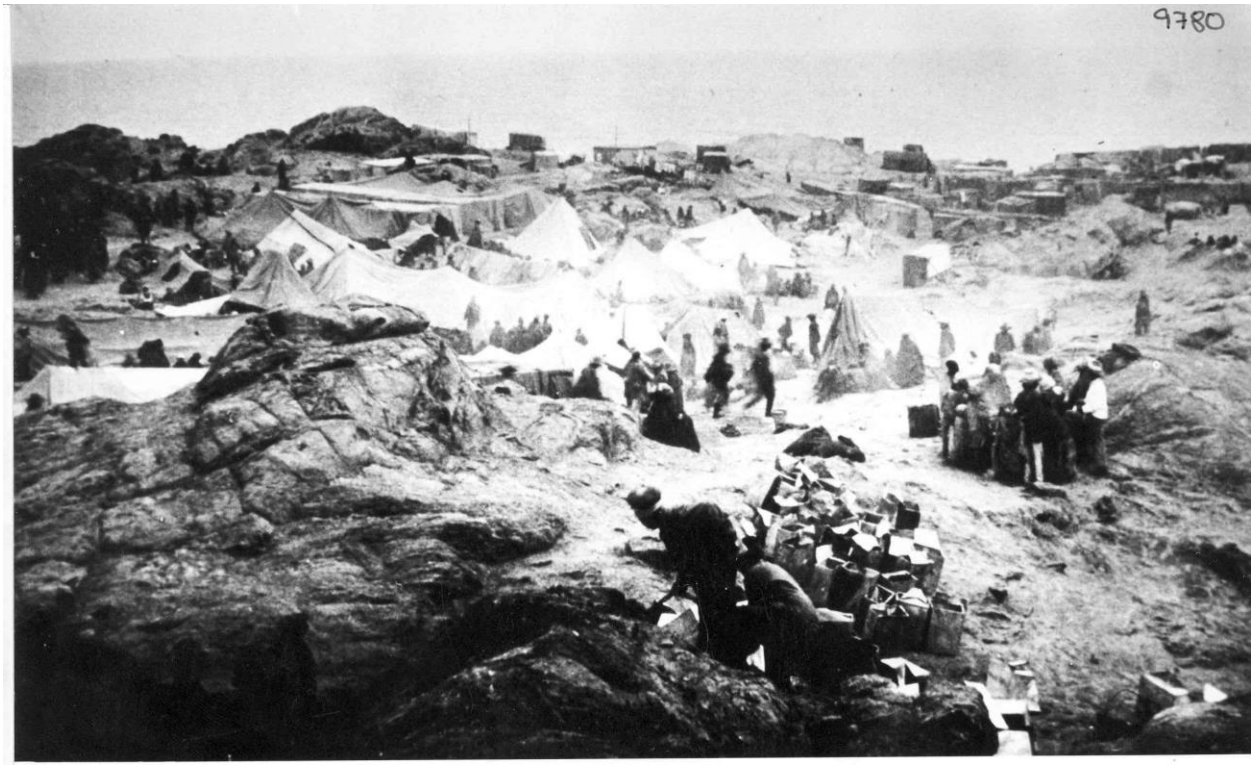


Fig.32 Image of Shark Island shows the harsh conditions under which people were subjected. Courtesy of the National Archives of Namibia

The spine chilling reports of eye witnesses that came out of Shark Island leave one with no other conclusion, but that of a deliberate extermination of the Nama and Herero prisoners. In their account, Olusoga and Erichsen record that, "already weakened by six months of captivity and hard labour in the north, the Nama suffered a rapid deterioration in their health within just weeks of their arrival [on Shark Island]"[305] They further record Missionary Emil Laaf as having observed that, "large numbers of the people are sick mostly from scurvy, and every week around 15 to 20 [Nama] die…of the

[305] David Olusoga and Casper W. Erichsen, The Kaiser's Holocaust: Germany's Forgotten Genocide (London: Faber and Faber, 2010), p.214.

Herero just as many are dying, so that weekly average of 50 is counted."[306] The high death rate of the Nama and Herero became the manmade factor that threated their very existence as a people. This reality, is captured by Samuel Izaak who is recorded to have told Brother Hermann Nyhof that "the community is doomed…[and that] if it continues like this, it will not be long before the entire people has completely died out"[307] Laaf and Nyhof saw the humanity the indigenous people of South West Africa on the brink of being wiped out by the Germans who vowed to break their spirit.

Olusoga's account gives us the sense that by the early 1900s "eighty percent of the Herero nation had been killed or driven out of the colony"[308], by the Germans and this presented opportunistic possibilities for white settlement and their institutions. It is to this highest degree of extermination and complete dispossession of the indigenous peoples of South West Africa that Adkhari concurs with Melber that, "…the killing of 80% of the Herero people (±65k) between 1904-08 is much more clearly genocidal than the lukraak killing of 1% of the Chinese population today (±13.5m) might be, although the latter may result in many more casualties."[309] Beneath the sand dunes of the South-West African desert lies the mortal remains of once flourishing kingdoms and people of the South; the Ovaherero and Nama.

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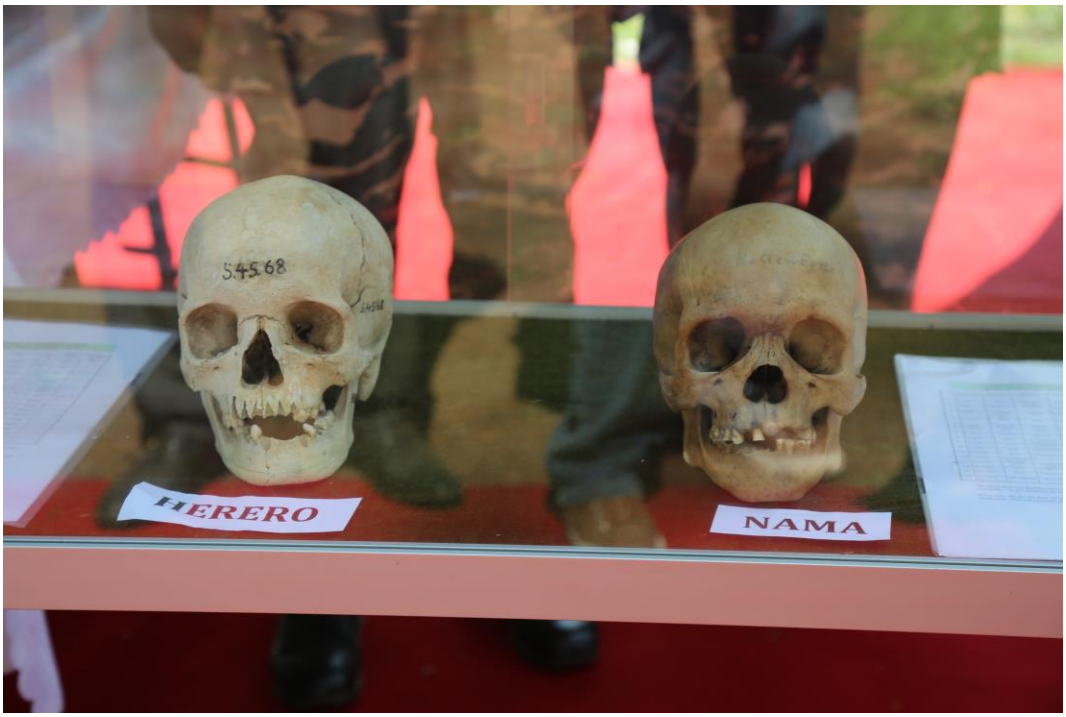
[306] David Olusoga and Casper W. Erichsen, The Kaiser's Holocaust: Germany's Forgotten Genocide (London: Faber and Faber, 2010), p.214.
[307] *Ibid.,* pp.214-215.
[308] *Ibid.,* p.214.
[309] Mohamed Adhikari, The Anatomy of a South African Genocide: The Extermination of the Cape San peoples (Cape Town: UCT Press, 2010), p.13.

On Friday, 31 August 2018, I attended a programme [Fig.35] for 3rd Repatriation of Human Remains from the Federal Republic of Germany to the Republic of Namibia. At this sombre occasion, I gazed upon the two transparent museum cases, which together held four human skulls, two [Fig.36 & Fig.37] on one side and two on the other of the Nama, Herero and Khoisan ancestors. There are numbers and notes inscribed on their foreheads and skulls to mark them as 'scientific' material. With missing teeth and fractured lower jaws, these remains acted as the reminder of the gruesome acts of genocide and human rights violations committed by the Germans on the people of Namibia. These remains are a few among many that are yet to return.

Fig.35 Programme for the 3rd Repatriation of Human Remains from Germany to Namibia held on 31 August 2018. Photo taken by Wandile Kasibe



From top to bottom: Fig.36 Image of the two human skulls, which were among the 27 human remains that were been repatriated from Germany to Namibia on 31 August 2018. Fig.37 People viewing human remains that were repatriated from Germany to Namibia on 31 August 2018. Photo taken by Wandile Kasibe

Fig.38 From left to right: Close up of Namibians viewing the human remains that were repatriated from Germany to Namibia on 31 August 2018. Fig.39 Close up photo of one of the Chiefs viewing the human remains holding his hat as a sign of respect for the dead Photos taken by Wandile Kasibe.

Later that month I wrote an artictle in which I ask the question, “Will the Federal Republic of Germany take full responsibility for the crimes against humanity committed by men who acted in its interest when the then South West Africa, now Namibia, was colonised by German troops between 1884 and 1915?...”[310] In this aforementioned article, I also reason that, “the presence of military personnel highlights the fact that the German colonial army packed these human remains into crates and shipped them out of South West Africa to museums in Germany. More than a century later, the Namibian army carried the same human remains in a military vehicle of the new nation of Namibia from the Parliament Gardens to the National Museum, to restore rights under a new democratic dispensation”[311]

[310] Wandile Kasibe, Repatriate to restore dignity, https://www.news24.com/Columnists/GuestColumn/repatriate-remains-to-restore-dignity-20180916-2 (accessed 15 October 2018) (see Appendix Z(a)

[311] Wandile Kasibe, Repatriate to restore dignity, https://www.news24.com/Columnists/GuestColumn/repatriate-remains-to-restore-dignity-20180916-2 (accessed 15 October 2018)

It worth mentioning that the involvement of the military which represents the state in both instances seem to confirm our presupposition about the entangled relationship between the museum and the state and the fact that the pattern of that relationship has not changed.

2.2.1 Trading in Human Remains

Scientific institutions such as museums in Europe and South Africa used this tragedy to cement racial 'science' endeavours by creating a need and market in the trade with human remains of the Nama, Herero, San and other native peoples who had fallen victim of this colonial predatory violence. The historical records document as Kuauma Riruako states that, "Dr. Bofinger, the concentration camp doctor at shark island near Luderitz, decapitated in 1906 the bodies of seventeen (17) Nama prisoners, including that of a one-year old Nama girl"[312] and sent those skulls to Berlin for 'science'. It is further recorded that, "after breaking open the skulls, Bofinger removed and weighed the brains, before placing each head in preserving alcohol and sealing them in tins for export to the Institute of Pathology at the University of Berlin."[313] And Olusoga points out that "there they were used by the aspiring racial scientist Christian Fetzer, then still a

[312] Kuauma Riruako, Statement by Hon. Kuaima Riruako Paramont Chief of the Ovaherero, Berlin, Federal Republic of Germany, 30 September 2011 (speech), p.11.
[313] David Olusoga and Casper W. Erichsen, The Kaiser's Holocaust: Germany's Forgotten Genocide (London: Faber and Faber, 2010), p.225.

medical student, in a series of experiments designed to demonstrate the anatomical similarities between the Nama and the anthropoid ape."[314]

Whilst this was happening and also in the period from 1915 when now South West Africa was under South African administration, the Namibian human remains found their way over the borders of South-West Africa to South African museum to be analysed in laboratory as 'primary data' and 'raw material' in the South African Museum. To animate this point Legassick and Rassool, report that, "the search for skeletons was, like so much else, cut across by the First World War. But, with the South African military occupation of German South West Africa, a new field for acquisition was opened which Peringuey [the then Director of the South African Museum] was not slow in exploiting."[315] He is recorded by Legassick and Rassool to have written that, "I am very desirous to add to the number of our native skulls, which in itself is not great. By far any Berg Damara, Damara, Hottentot, or better still Bushman relic of this sort would be much appreciated."[316] The relationship between Peringuey as the director of the oldest museum in South Africa and strategic departments of the colonial administration over the remains of indigenous people's human remains gives us a much deeper insight into the depth of the symbiosis between museums and various arms of government, such as the magistrate and the health departments. This becomes even much more clearer when we look into the communication that Peringuey had with these government

[314] David Olusoga and Casper W. Erichsen, The Kaiser's Holocaust: Germany's Forgotten Genocide (London: Faber and Faber, 2010), p.225.
[315] Martin Legassick & Ciraj Rassol, Skeletons in the Cupboard: South African museums and the trade in human remains 1907-1917 (Cape Town: South African Museum, 2000), p.44.
[316] *Ibid.,* p.44.

entities e.g. "…Peringuey was commissioned by the government to draft under the Act – both for art and for 'relics' other than art"[317]

This law was to prohibit any Bushman 'relics' including human remains from being shipped out of South Africa as it had been the case before the act was passed in 1911. Skeletons of Africans were leaving the country for foreign destinations, where conclusions about them would be reached in European museums and institutions of 'science'. There was a competition that had emerged between South African race 'scientists' and those who had come from elsewhere to collect these remains for their institutions back home. After the passing of the legislation that prohibited the leaving of the remains, Péringuey is said to have written to the magistrate, "…any attempt to send to England or Austria or Germany is punishable now and I thus hope that my permit will cause good specimens to come to me. I need to give more explanation at present. 76 skeletons went to Austria; I cannot find out how many went to Germany. 8, intended for Austria, went quite lately to England"[318]

Legassick and Rassool also bring to our attention the fact that, as an avid collector of human remains for the South African Museum, Péringuey started following court cases of Bushmen who had been condemned to death for murder, "looking for the skeletons of the victims and (if condemned to death) the murderer."[319] In that same year in 1909, he penned down a request to the magistrate asking to obtain permission to get the body of

[317] Martin Legassick & Ciraj Rassol, Skeletons in the Cupboard: South African museums and the trade in human remains 1907-1917 (Cape Town: South African Museum, 2000), p.39.
[318] SAM OLB 131/11Confidential. Peringuey to H. Drew, ARM, Rietfontein 30/4/1911 in Martin Legassick & Ciraj Rassol, Skeletons in the Cupboard: South African museums and the trade in human remains 1907-1917 (Cape Town: South African Museum, 2000), p.40.
[319] Martin Legassick & Ciraj Rassol, Skeletons in the Cupboard: South African museums and the trade in human remains 1907-1917 (Cape Town: South African Museum, 2000), p.44.

a murdered Bushman for the museum's 'scientific' endeavours, a letter to which the magistrate responded, "I shall willingly do all I can to secure you the body of the Bushman (Jan Strijp) who was killed last month in this district. The cost of disinterment, box or coffin and transport I estimate amount to about £10."[320] And that, "...a Field Cornet had agreed, for £5, to exhume Stryp's body"[321] and not long after this, "...the skeleton was on its way to the South African Museum..."[322] Péringuey followed another story of "Leelyk, a Bushman, [who] was sentenced to death for having murdered a Bushman woman at Tilbery Pan, in the Kalahari"[323] and it appears in the recorded accounts that, after "having received the approval of Dr. Gregory [Medical Officer of Health] [he] immediately wrote both to the assistant magistrate at Reitfontein and the Law Department. He asked the former for the victim's body."[324] After enquiring whether the body had be executed, he notes, "the scientific importance attaching to the anthropometric measurements of that race is so great, that i would respectfully request – in case the sentence in not commuted – to be permitted to have the body after the extreme penalty is inflicted"[325]

In these passages, Legassick and Rassool help us understand not only the fact that, the museological institution had close relationship with the colonial administration, but the

[320] Martin Legassick & Ciraj Rassol, Skeletons in the Cupboard: South African museums and the trade in human remains 1907-1917 (Cape Town: South African Museum, 2000), pp.40-41.
[321] SAM P4 IL/PA, Skeleton material 1886-1917, 549/09 RM Carnarvon, to Director, South African Museum 6/10/1909 in Martin Legassick & Ciraj Rassol, Skeletons in the Cupboard: South African museums and the trade in human remains 1907-1917 (Cape Town: South African Museum, 2000), p.44.
[322] Ciraj Rassol, Skeletons in the Cupboard: South African museums and the trade in human remains 1907-1917 (Cape Town: South African Museum, 2000), p.41.
[323] *Ibid.,* p.41.
[324] *Ibid.,* p.41.
[325] SAM OLB 35/1910 Peringuey to Sec, Law Dept 24/3/1910 in Ciraj Rassol, Skeletons in the Cupboard: South African museums and the trade in human remains 1907-1917 (Cape Town: South African Museum, 2000), p.41.

reality that, “government authorities acted as conscious agents in the South African Museum’s search Bushman remains.”[326]

These are just few cases among many that help us understand the nature of the toxic collusion between state and museum resources were poured into these colonial endeavours to support race ‘science’ and further to this as Rassool argues, “…the museum by this time had enlisted the support of different arms of the state to procure skeletons.”[327] In studying Patricia Davison’s work one gets the sense that the research was motivated by the fact that to most scientists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries “…both Hottentots and Bushmen were among the low orders of humanity”[328] and carried the genetic ‘data’ that could help crystalize the mystery of the ‘missing link’ between animals and humans.

The colonial ‘scientists’ convinced themselves that the Khoi and the San were sub humans and as Davison points out that, “general explanations of this conviction included the influence of climatic factors, a presumed low position of Bushmen and Hottentots in the Great Chain of Being, and the possibility of their being biologically different from other races.”[329] Bodies and upon bodies of dead Khoi and San people and their remains formed a major part of the museum collection and to a large extent, “…the museum was being configured as a kind of grave-yard of science, as perhaps the

[326] Martin Legassick & Ciraj Rassol, Skeletons in the Cupboard: South African museums and the trade in human remains 1907-1917 (Cape Town: South African Museum, 2000), p.40.
[327] Martin Legassick & Ciraj Rassol, Skeletons in the Cupboard: South African museums and the trade in human remains 1907-1917 (Cape Town: South African Museum, 2000), p.43.
[328] Patricia Davison, Human Subjects as Museum objects: A Project to Make Life-Casts of ‘Bushmen’ and Hottentots 1907-1924 (Cape Town: South African Museum, The Rustica Press, 1993), p.166.
[329] Patricia Davison, Human Subjects as Museum objects: A Project to Make Life-Casts of ‘Bushmen’ and Hottentots 1907-1924 (Cape Town: South African Museum, The Rustica Press, 1993), p.166.

appropriate *post-moterm* resting site of Bushmen"[330], Legassick and Rassool argue. It became a symbol of oppression and gross human rights violations, committed on people who were deemed less humans, thus had neither rights nor entitlement to anything, all this was done in the name of 'science'.

Davison further notes that, "the reference to a 'pure-blood specimen' draws attention to the fact the project was premised on the notion of racial purity, and furthermore that, for scientific purposes, people could be reduced or dehumanized to objects of study, to 'specimens' of their race."[331] George Stocking further elaborates on this point in Davison when he argues that, "the latter polygenist view gave rise to a scientific discourse on race that attempted to establish racial distinctiveness on morphological criteria. Among these the cranial index (length: breadth ratio of the skull) was believed to be of taxonomic significance in classifying racial types, and was also thought to be linked to intellectual capacity."[332] And Duckworth reaffirms this argument in Davison by reasoning that, "the amassing of morphological data on people of different races was considered an essential prerequisite to solving current anthropological problems, both before and after the publication of Darwin's work on the origins of species."[333]

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[330] Martin Legassick & Ciraj Rassool, Skeletons in the Cupboard: South African museums and the trade in human remains 1907-1917 (Cape Town: South African Museum, 2000), p.43.
[331] Patricia Davison, Material culture, context and meaning: A critical investigation of museum practice with particular reference to the South African Museum (Thesis), p.147.
[332] George W. Stocking, Victorian Anthropology in Patricia Davison, Human Subjects as Museum objects: A Project to Make Life-Casts of 'Bushmen' and Hottentots 1907-1924 (Cape Town: South African Museum, The Rustica Press, 1993), p.166.
[333] *Laurence Henry Wynfrid* Duckworth, Morphology and Anthropology: A handbook or students in Patricia Davison, Human Subjects as Museum objects: A Project to Make Life-Casts of 'Bushmen' and Hottentots 1907-1924 (Cape Town: South African Museum, The Rustica Press, 1993), p.166.

As we have ascertained from history that “during nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, hundreds of skulls of people believed to be Bushmen found their way into European collections and were used in morphological studies.”[334] And as Morris argues “these osteological remains were considered to be part of the native fauna of distant lands and no natural history collection could be considered complete unless it contained a representative quality of human skulls. [And] among the sought specimens have been the crania of Khoi (Hottentot) and San (Bushmen) peoples.”[335]

To Morris, “the acquisition of Khoisan skulls can be traced at least as far back as August 1805 when Lichtenstein obtained the cranium of an unknown female Khoi who had been found dead in the veld (Lichtenstein 1929). Other Khoisan skulls are known to have been part of early nineteenth century private collections, and both Blumenbach in Göttingen and Morton in Philadelphia listed 'Bushman' or 'Hottentot' specimens in their catalogues (Wagner 1856; Gould 1978). By 1850 Khoisan specimens could be found in nearly all of the major European museums. Most of these skulls were donated by or purchased from travellers who had acquired them as curiosities during their visits to southern Africa.”[336]

In these passages, Davison, Stocking, Duckworth and Morris help us fully comprehend the question of how indigenous and native peoples were understood to be part of the

[334] Patricia Davison, Human Subjects as Museum objects: A Project to Make Life-Casts of ‘Bushmen’ and Hottentots 1907-1924 (Cape Town: South African Museum, The Rustica Press, 1993), p.167.
[335] Alan G. Morris, The Reflection of the Collector: San and Khoi Skeletons in Museum Collections (The South African Archaeological Bulletin, Vol. 42, No. 145 (Jun., 1987), p.12. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3887769 (accessed 10 May 2017)
[336] Alan G. Morris, The Reflection of the Collector: San and Khoi Skeletons in Museum Collections (The South African Archaeological Bulletin, Vol. 42, No. 145 (Jun., 1987), p.12. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3887769 (accessed 10 May 2017)

landscape, and thus could also easily be 'acquired', subjected to various forms of classification in museums for political gains and 'scientific' studies. As Tiyambe Zeleza argues, this happened because "to the Europeans of this period Africa was a laboratory, its animals, flora, and people valuable not in themselves but as specimens that needed to be discovered, collected and classified."[337] And Guenther takes this further argue in Davison that, "by classifying the Bushmen as animal-like plunderers, the inhumane treatment of these people at the hands of the colonizers had been rendered justifiable, and made to seem natural or, at least, acceptable (Guenther 1980)."[338] That is why according Magubane, "the San…were hunted like rabbits and became, like the Tasmanians, the victims of the most successful acts of genocide"[339], whose human remains ended up in museums for "scientific" observation.

When we carefully read Knox's *Race of Men*, we are awoken to the reality that, the museum became the destination for what he perceived to be 'extinct' race of men; namely the 'Bushmen', for he asks the question, "have we done with the Hottentots and Bosjeman race?"[340] The question to which he answers himself , "I suppose so: they will soon form merely natural curiosities; already there is the skin of one stuffed in England; another in Paris if I mistake not. Their skeleton presents, of course, peculiarities, such as the extreme narrowness of the nasal bones, which run into one in early age not unfrequently, as we find in apes. But it is the exterior which is the most striking; and this,

[337]Tiyambe Zeleza, South Africa: Through the Eyes of a Nineteenth Century Tourist http://www.jstor.org/stable/3820078 Vol. 23 No. 3 (Autumn 1992) (Accessed 17 September 2011), p.149.
[338] Patricia Davison, Material culture, context and meaning: A critical investigation of museum practice, with particular reference to the South African Museum (thesis), p.144.
[339] Bernard M. Magubane, Race and the Construction of the Dispensable Other (South Africa: University of South Africa, 2007), p.183.
[340] Robert Knox, Preface The Races of Men (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchhard, 1850). p.158.

no doubt, is wonderful. No one can believe them to be of the same race with ourselves; yet, unquestionably, they belong to the genus man…"[341]

To Knox, the extermination of the Bushmen and preserve them for society and future posterity was what had to be done by the Europeans in almost all geographies, for he records that, "the Dutch boer never laboured there. He lived a wandering nomad life, the cruel oppressor of the native dark races, whom he nearly extinguished. The Anglo-Saxon assisted him bravely in the extermination of the Caffre: when the Dutch boer could no longer lord it over the dark races, he quitted the colony. Of all the countries known, the Cape of Good Hope and Australia, that is, extra-tropical Africa and Australia are esteemed the healthiest, and if anywhere, it is here that an European race might hope to live and thrive, let us hope for the best."[342]

He further points out that, "in Australia it can scarcely be said that an antagonistic race faces them, so miserable sunk is the native population. A ready way too of extinguishing them has been discovered; the Anglo-Saxon has already cleared out Tasmania. It was a cruel, cold blooded, heartless deed. Australia is too large to attempt the same plan there; but by shooting the natives as freely as we do crows in other countries, the population might become thin and scarce in time."[343] In his thinking, Knox supposed the best way to deal with the growing indigenous populations in places where the English had usurped was to wipe them off the face of the earth, through the

[341] *Ibid.,* p.158.
[342] Robert Knox, Preface The Races of Men (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchhard, 1850). p.99.
[343] Robert Knox, Preface The Races of Men (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchhard, 1850), p.99.

barrel of the gun and this is exactly what happened in almost all the places where the occident had had an encounter with the indigene.

According to Davison, “throughout southern Africa, the resistance of the aboriginal population was eventually quelled and, by the second half of the nineteenth century, their numbers had been greatly reduced. Those who survived in the Cape Colony were no longer living as hunter-gatherers but as labourers and squatters on farms.”[344] And it is further recorded by Davison that, “by this time they had ceased to be a threat to the settlers, but remnant groups were becoming of increasing interest of philologist and ethnologist as living examples of low order of the human species.”[345] In her account she challenges us to reason with the idea that, from this period and perhaps prior to this time the processes of naming gained more momentum than it was before. Through the philologist and ethnologist paradigm, the Khoi and San were no more than faunal ‘objects’ that had to be further studies: classified and given names.

Further to this Davison also unveils the fact that, “scientists working in South Africa aligned themselves with a cosmopolitan scientific fraternity and were strongly influenced by the ideas of overseas specialists.”[346] To Davison this inter-continental exchange of ‘scientific’ ideas ‘was apparent in 1905 when the British and South African Associations

[344] Patricia Davison, Human Subjects as Museum objects: A Project to Make Life-Casts of ‘Bushmen’ and Hottentots 1907-1924 (Cape Town: South African Museum, The Rustica Press, 1993), pp.167-168.
[345] *Ibid.,* p.168.
[346] Patricia Davison, Human Subjects as Museum objects: A Project to Make Life-Casts of ‘Bushmen’ and Hottentots 1907-1924 (Cape Town: South African Museum, The Rustica Press, 1993), p.168.

for the Advancement of Science held a joint meeting in South Africa"[347], addressed by A.C. Haddon, "…president of the Anthropological section…"[348]

This practice of naming and classifying of things became a foundation upon which the modern museum built its museological function to this very day. Through this practice, we learn from history that, the museum then assumed a position once defined by Eilean Hooper-Greenhill in Watson in the following, "the modernist museum emerged gradually to become a fully established and very powerful institutional form…"[349] It produced the kind of "science" that fed colonizing endeavours. Cornel West reminds us that at this time in the timeline of history, "the basic features of early modern European culture were the increasing acceptance of the authority of science…[.]"[350]

No need to ask at this stage as to what kind of science was produced in museums at this time, for in their extensive research on South African museums and the trade in human remains, between 1907 and 1917, Legassick and Rassool give us a detailed account on the nature of racial 'science' that was produced in museums. They bring to our attention the fact that "…the subjugated Khoisan were opened to the scientific gaze of all the powerful coloniser in a variety of ways. Not the least was in the mass violation of their remains-collected to form statistical samples of significant size for craniometric research…"[351] Be that as it may, a question may be asked: as "self-appointed keepers

[347] *Ibid.,* p.168.
[348] *Ibid.,* p.168.
[349] Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Interpretive Communities, Strategies and Repertoires* in *Museums and their Communities* in Sheila Watson (ed.), Museums and their Communities (USA & Canada: Routledge, 2007), p. 81.
[350] Cornel West, The Cornel West Reader (United States of America: Basic Civitas Books, 1999), p.55.
[351] Martin Legassick & Ciraj Rassol, Skeletons in the Cupboard: South African museums and the trade in human remains 1907-1917 (Cape Town: South African Museum, 2000), p.2.

of the people's material and self-appointed interpreters of others' histories"[352], how did the museum acquire this prestige, authority and power to define and classify, the vanquished, thus perpetuating this unrelenting psychological onslaught, in what Matt Perry defines as "…an age of extremes"[353] of the "rulers and the ruled"[354], "exploiters and the exploited", the "discoverer" and the "discovered."

2.2.2 Human Remains in Museums, Universities and 'Scientific' Institutions

> "Although the use of human remains as the material basis for the scientific demonstration of racial classifications seems to be a chapter of the past, vestiges of anthropometry, such as the studies on skulls and bones and the data generated from their measurements, still persist today"[355]

In his extensive research Morris further gives an overview of the different locations and institutions of where one might find these documented human remains at the time of the writing of his account in 1987: Anatomical Museum, University of Edinburg, British Museum Natural History in London, The American Museum of Natural History, Department of Anatomy at the University of Cape Town[356], Royal College of Surgeons in London, Department of Physical Anthropology in Cambridge, *Musée de l'Homme* in Paris, *Institut für Humanbiologie* at the University of Vienna, South African Museum in

[352] Michael Ames, *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: The Anthropology of Museums* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992), p.140.
[353] Matt Perry, Marxism and History (New York: PALGRAVE, 2002), p.4.
[354] *Ibid.,* p.3.
[355] Lotte Arndt, Vestiges of Oblivion – Sammy Baloji's Works on Skulls in European Museum Collection http://www.darkmatter101.org/site/2013/11/18/vestiges-of-oblivion-sammy-baloji%E2%80%99s-works-on-skulls-in-european-museum-collections/ (accessed 2 November 2018)
[356] Kim Cloete, Khoisan skeletons to be returned home https://www.news.uct.ac.za/article/-2018-10-12-khoisan-skeletons-to-be-returned-home [accessed 12 October 2019]

Cape Town, McGregor Memorial Museum in Kimberly, National Museum in Bloemfontein, Albany Museum in Grahamstown, Department of Anatomy at the University of Witwatersrand and many other locations and institutions that are not mentioned here.

It is not clear whether Morris' account include the four adult and one adolescent male skeletons that are currently in the care of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington DC in the United States of America, whose provenance is from the Port Alfred in the Eastern Cape. Records presented by Moronga N. Mosothwane show us that, "the individuals were prison convicts dug up shortly after burial in the Port Alfred prison cemetery"[357], accessioned at the Albany Museum by John Hewitt, the then curator and were then shipped out of South Africa as a single batch (in March 1911 via London as part of an exchange arrangement between the Smithsonian and the Albany Museum in Grahamstown, a story to which we shall later return when we talk about the need for a Museum TRRC.

2.2.3 Human Remains in the South African Museum

Meanwhile with the South African Museum which is one of the oldest museums in South Africa after it was proclaimed in 1825 by Lord Charles Somerset, Morris brings to our attention the fact that, "the extensive collection of human skeletons in the South African Museum contains at least seven and as many as 13 well documented Khoi and San

[357] Moronga N. Mosothwane, An Account of South African Human Skeletal Remains at Three North American Museum Collections Volume. 11, Skeletal Identity Of Past Southern African Populations: Lessons from Outside South Africa (December 2013), p.28. http://www.jstor.org/stable43997026 (accessed 24 February 2018)

specimens."[358] Some of these human remains were either stolen from the graves, donated or sold to the South African Museum. These include an incident of "a male San (SAM 1147) [who] was donated by the Rev. H. Kling of Steinskopt in February 1909. This individual lived about 40 km from Steinskopt and was about 50 years old when he died approximately 1892. He was a shepherd for a Bastard family by the name of Bok and was known to have been accidentally burned during his lifetime."[359]

In his report, Jeremy Silvester states that, "the [South African] museum holds the human remains of 1,200 individuals. It has identified 160 of these as having been collected 'unethically' and has, therefore, restricted access to these human remains."[360] These individuals are amongst the many unethically collected remains that are stored in the storage vault of the South African Museum. Wendy Black, an archaeologist at the South African Museum corroborates this fact by stating that, "…there is a collection that is not often referred to and that is what Iziko has termed the unethical collection. These are individuals that were known in life between 1850 and 1920-1930 that were collected across South Africa for various reasons mostly based in racial science. Colonists that were here were very intrigued about African structure morphologically human body and wanted to send a lot of skeletal material back to European Institutions what we

[358] Alan G. Morris, The Reflection of the Collector: San and Khoi Skeletons in Museum Collections (The South African Archaeological Bulletin, Vol. 42, No. 145 (Jun., 1987), p.17. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3887769 (accessed 10 May 2017)
[359] *Ibid*
[360] Jeremy Silvester, Report on the Human Remains Management and Repatriation Workshop, 13th – 14th February, 2017. 10th May 2017 p.5.

understand as universities and museums today and unfortunately this created a rather lucrative business in the sale of human remains."[361]

The South African museum does not have any cadavers in its storage vaults, but the skulls that were acquired during colonial times. This understanding is of course correct if we delineate and differentiate between actual human bodies and human body casts that the museum had made from 1906. The reason to highlight this point is because there is now a growing argument that suggests that the human DNA that gets transferred on to the casts when they are made and the sticking of real human hair on to the casts in the process of making them does to a large extent make sense to re-classify these casts as part of the human remains and thus should be treated as such. For example when the Iziko Museum's Human Remains Repatriation Committee was established it motivated "...for the life-casts to be categorised as human remains as well, which led to a more urgent re-evaluation of the problems with the ethnographic displays."[362] Though the sensivities around the presence of these human remains are fully comprehended and documented, but in the African context where it is believed that when a person dies his/her spirit joins the ancestors and his/her body must be buried so he/she can rest in peace and with this understandiong, what does it mean to collect a human remain, be it 'ethically' or unethically? Does it transform itself into becoming a grave site that people need to go to in order to remember their dead? Does this imply that people who work on these human remains in museums and universities are

[361] Wendy Black, 'Human Remains Symposium' lecture delivered at the Iziko South African Museum (00-25:55) (13 February 2017)
[362] Robyn-Leigh Cedras, 'The Halls of History: The Making and Unmaking of the Life-casts at the Ethnography Galleries of the Iziko South African Museum' (Unpublished M Phil thesis, University of Cape Town), p.118.

professional grave robbers whose work on the bodies of the dead violates the African ethical code of respecting the dead? By having these remains whether 'ethically' or unethically collected, what is the museum hoping to achieve, particulalry when the reason for which they were acquired has now been declared a Crime Against Humanity? What purpose do they serve now?

In the midst of these questions, Black further notes that, "…we know that they [human remains] are restricted due to their unethical nature, meaning no one can study these individuals, we also know that these unethical collections include various populations of Khoisan, Nguni, number of individuals from Namibia, Botswana even foreign Aboriginals from Australia"[363] But if access to these remains is restricted because of the tainted past attached to them: how will people know that they are there?

According to Morris there were also incidents of Namibian skulls that had been sold to the South African Museum at the time adding to the idea of this being a global trade whose colonial transaction was done under the guise of 'science' and human 'progress'. To this effect, he records that "another male skeleton (SAM 1876) was obtained by the museum from Major F. Brownlee in 1917. This young male 'Bushman' was reported to have been shot by a German farmer in 1916 on the farm Choigonab near Grootfontein, Namibia. He was in his late teens and stood 1,32 m in height."[364] Other cases are "six more 'Bushman' skeletons at the South African Museum [that] are accepted by some

[363] Wendy Black, 'Human Remains Symposium' lecture delivered at the Iziko South African Museum (00-25-21) (13 February 2017)
[364] Alan G. Morris, The Reflection of the Collector: San and Khoi Skeletons in Museum Collections (The South African Archaeological Bulletin, Vol. 42, No. 145 (Jun., 1987), p.17. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3887769 (accessed 10 May 2017)

authors as verified San. These individuals are said to be 'Khoma Bushmen from German South West Africa' (SAM 1241, 1243, 1244) and 'Kowa Bushmen from inside the Cape Colony' (SAM 1249, 1251, 1253) The South African Museums Index book [Fig.40 & 41] of Anthropological material, verifies these remains and Lennox appears as one of the individuals who either sold or donated these skulls to the museum. This archival evidence corroborates Morris's argument, that the remains "…were sold to the museum by a Mr G. Lennox in 1909. Lennox is reputed to have had an extensive knowledge of San peoples in the northern Cape and southern Namibia, but the skeletons are in fact undocumented."[365]

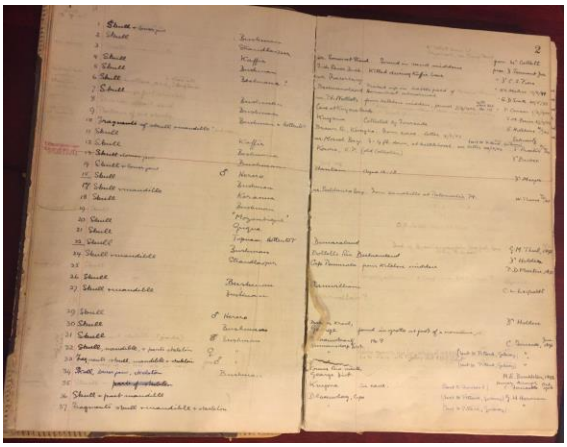


Fig.40 left to right: Index book of Physical Anthropological Material currently housed at Iziko Museums Social History Collections. Photo taken by Wandile Kasibe.

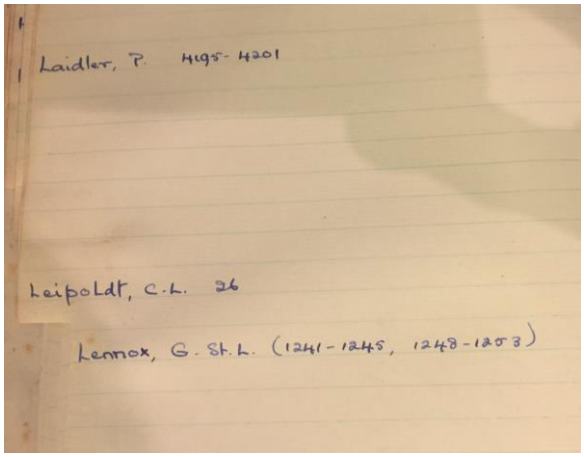


Fig.41 Close up of one of the pages of the Index book showing few names included the name of Lennox who sold human skeletons to the South African Museum. Photo taken by Wandile Kasibe.

[365] Alan G. Morris, The Reflection of the Collector: San and Khoi Skeletons in Museum Collections (The South African Archaeological Bulletin, Vol. 42, No. 145 (Jun., 1987), p.17. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3887769 (accessed 10 May 2017)

The archives also uncover names such Reverend Heinrich Kling, “a medically trained missionary of the Rhenish Missionary Society”[366] who donated and sold objects and human remains of indigenous people to the Albany Museum and South African Museum in the time he was in South Africa. Not only was the skull of the man donated to the South African Museum, but, accoding to Morris, “Kling also provided the skeleton of the man's daughter (SAM 1148) who was about 20 years old. She died about the same time as her father. A third skeleton sent by Kling (SAM 1264) is of a male Bondelswart Khoi who had died in the veld about 1890. Kling provided skeletons for both the South African Museum and the Albany Museum in Grahamstown...”[367] And as Plug further notes “all these skeletons were of people that he had known when alive and about whom he was able to provide the museums with personal details”[368] This darker side of the museological institution has for decades now attracted attention from cultural activists, community leaders of the affected communities who have now called for restitution and repatriation of these remains back to the descendants of communities and individuals who may be linked to the identified remains both in South Africa and Namibia. For example, “Germany has in recent years handed back 20 skulls belonging to indigenous Namibians. [And] the skulls were among an estimated 300 taken to

[366] C. Plug, S2A3 Biological Database of Southern African Science: Kling, Reverend Heinrich (mineral collection, Khoesan Skeletal collection) http://www.s2a3.org.za/bio/Biograph_final.php?serial=1550 (accessed 18 October 2018)
[367] Alan G. Morris, The Reflection of the Collector: San and Khoi Skeletons in Museum Collections (The South African Archaeological Bulletin, Vol. 42, No. 145 (Jun., 1987), p.17. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3887769 (accessed 10 May 2017)
[368] C. Plug, S2A3 Biological Database of Southern African Science: Kling, Reverend Heinrich (mineral collection, Khoesan Skeletal collection) http://www.s2a3.org.za/bio/Biograph_final.php?serial=1550 (accessed 18 October 2018)

Germany after a slaughter of indigenous Namibians during an anti-colonial uprising in what was then called South West Africa, which Berlin ruled from 1884 to 1915."[369]

It was at this emotive "...ocassion of the handover by the government of the Federal Republic of Germany, of the skulls of the Ovaherero and Nama Victims of the 1904-8 wars of resistance, for repatriation to the Republic of Namibia"[370] that Kuaima Riruako, the paramount Chief of the Ovaherero located these colonial acts as evidence of colonial crimes. He argues in his speech that, "...these skulls are the tangible material evidence of what had happened to our people. They represent acts of war atrocities and genocide comitted against our people during their just wars of résistance that started with the Battle of Otjunda."[371]

The repatriation that Chief Riruako speaks of cannot been seen in isolation from other continental attempts to repatriate collected remains by the European colonialists from other parts of the continent. This repatriation includes the plans to return back the "…986 [skulls] from Rwanda, 41 from Tanzania, four from Burundi and 54 others are simply marked East Africa"[372] from European institutions. Futhermore there is also a Civil Case No. 17-0062[373], against the Federal Repuclic of Germany for the genocide

[369] The Guardian, Germany to investigate 1,000 skulls taken from African colonies for 'racial research' <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/oct/06/germany-to-investigate-1000-skulls-taken-from-african-colonies-for-racial-research?CMP=share_btn_fb> (accessed 6 October 2017)
[370] Kuauma Riruako, Statement by Hon. Kuaima Riruako Paramont Chief of the Ovaherero, Berlin, Federal Republic of Germany, 30 September 2011 (speech), p. 4.
[371] *Ibid.,* p. 4.
[372] The Guardian, Germany to investigate 1,000 skulls taken from African colonies for 'racial research' <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/oct/06/germany-to-investigate-1000-skulls-taken-from-african-colonies-for-racial-research?CMP=share_btn_fb>(accessed 6 October 2017)
[373] Vekuii Rukoro, Johannes Isaack etal against Federal Republic of Germany, Amended Class Action Complaint Case 1: 17-cv-00062-LTS, 14 February 2018, New York

that was committed by the Germans and skulls of the victims it is stated that, were collected by people such as Professor Felix von Luschan an Austrian, archaeologist, anthroplogist, explorer and doctor. The account goes on to tell us that, "he was also a member of the German Society for Racial Hygiene. Over the span of many years, von Luschan built up two large collections containing thousands of specimens: one for the Berlin museum and one in his own private collection. Both collections contained skulls and skeletons of Namibians that had been shipped from Africa to Berlin during the German colonial period."[374] And "these desecrated remains were used extensively in pseudo-scientific experiements to support racist theories that speciously claimed that African races were inferior to the German people"[375]

To Black this demand for bodies "...led to grave robbing elicit activity body snatching and that how a lot of human remains that are associated to Bushmen and other African populations all end up at these European institutions and Iziko and one or two other two other museums in South Africa are not immune to that and they have their own collections of people known in life collected as museum objects…" [376]

In both Sylvester and Black's accounts, the focus is directed at unethically collected remains, by the following questions must be posed even if its just in passing is: what does it mean to 'ethically' collect a body in the African context? Where do we strike the

[374] Vekui Rukoro v. Federal Government of Germany. Civ No. 17-0062. p75, United States District Court Southern District of New York. 2018. Ed. Kenneth F. McCallion, Thomas H. Holman, and Yechezkel Rodal
[375] *Ibid*
[376] Wendy Black, 'Human Remains Symposium' lecture delivered at the Iziko South African Museum (00-25:55) (13 February 2017)

balance between African cultural traditions and ethics of science? Who defines these ethical codes and for whom? It is the fragility of this balance that museums such as the Iziko Museums of South Africa with its 'collections' of human remains finds itself in the post-colonial and post-apartheid dilemmas of a changing political and cultural landscape, where communities in and outside South Africa are calling for the return of these remains back to where they were stolen from. With lack of national legislations to facilitate the repatriation of these remains, the presence of human remains in the South African museums and universities has proven to be much more complex than one might think.

Fig.42 A photo of a dead corpse and two firgures standing by and the car in the background in Ovamboland, taken in Namibia in the time of the great femine that had swept the population in the region. Source National Archives Namibia (NAN) 14167

As we have established in the earlier parts of this discussion that some of these individuals' remains were collected from neighbouring countries such as Namibia and Botswana and to mention the few and to this effect Silvester further elaborates that, "the museum has corroborated that 81 of the 161 'unethical' human remains were taken from Namibia and a further 20 were 'probably' taken from Namibia. The current

information available suggests that none of the individual names of the deceased are known, as they were collected as 'specimens' and classified according to ethnic labels. Under this system of classification the 81 from Namibia consist of 46 'Ovambo', 18 'San', 1 'Nama', 1 'Herero' and 18 'Unidentified'."[377]

One such example of the skulls shipped from Namibia to South Africa is recorded in the Iziko Museums of South Africa's Physical Athropology Index book where it is recored that, one person "Died of illness. Boots and clothes packed under a straw pillow, ready for future use…[and the other] taken prisoners by Germans in the year 1905-1906. He escaped and… was shot and packed under stones."[378] This brief account helps us see the conditions and circumstances under which prisoners of war were treated by the Germans in occupied South-West Africa and not only this but it also unearths the enomity of the violations sufered by the people whose skeletal remains are at the time of the writing of this thesis still housed in museums and some in Universities.

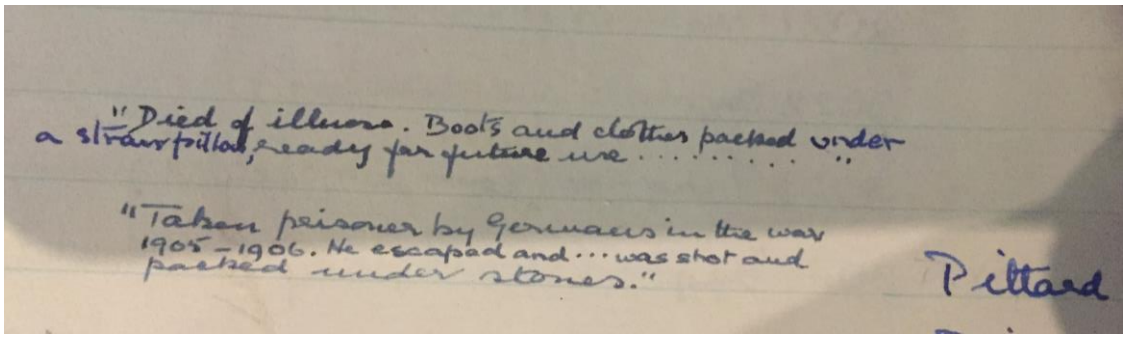


Fig.43 Close up of Iziko Museums Index Book of Physical Anthropological Material. Here we see the circumstances under which the Shark Island prisoners whose human remains are currently at the Iziko Museums had died.

[377] Jeremy Silvester, Report on the Human Remains Management and Repatriation Workshop, 13th – 14th February, 2017. 10th May 2017 p.5.
[378] Iziko Museums of Cape Town, Physical Anthroplogy Index Book

During its South-Western occupation, South African apartheid administration treated Namibia as its colony, hence it was easy for most South African race 'scientists' to use Namibia as a place to collect 'raw' data as samples to be studied in South Africa and then Europe and north America. Apart from the political tensions between the German colonial administration and the British conquered Cape at the time, there was a degree of regional and cross-border thinking and sharing of 'data' between South African race 'scientists' and those who were working in Namibia.

To Silverster, "whilst it seems likely that most of the bodies were removed from Namibia during the early years of the South African occupation there is evidence that the acquisition of human remains from Namibia for South African museums dates from 1907 or earlier. There is some evidence that suggests that the exhumation of bodies at this time might also relate to the genocide."[379]

He emphasizes the point by drawing our attention to St. Leger Lennox's letter that he wrote to the McGregor Museum in South Africa on 25th June in which he states, "I have just heard that in Marengo's lot that were detained on the island [Shark Island – JS] some deaths occurred. I will go over in a boat and see what I can find"[380] Some of the heads that Lennox had collected at Shark Island were sold to "…Dr Porch of Vienna to L.A. Peringuey of the South African Museum, and in 1910 presented five skeletons believed to be of mixed Bushman and Bantu origin to the McGregor Museum in

[379] Jeremy Silvester, Report on the Human Remains Management and Repatriation Workshop, 13th – 14th February, 2017. 10th May 2017 p.6.
[380] *Ibid.,* p.6.

Kimberley."[381] If Silvester's report is anything to go by, we may conclude here that the Iziko South African Museum had at the time of the writing of the report, the human remains of Namibians who had been collected from the sites of genocide in Namibia.

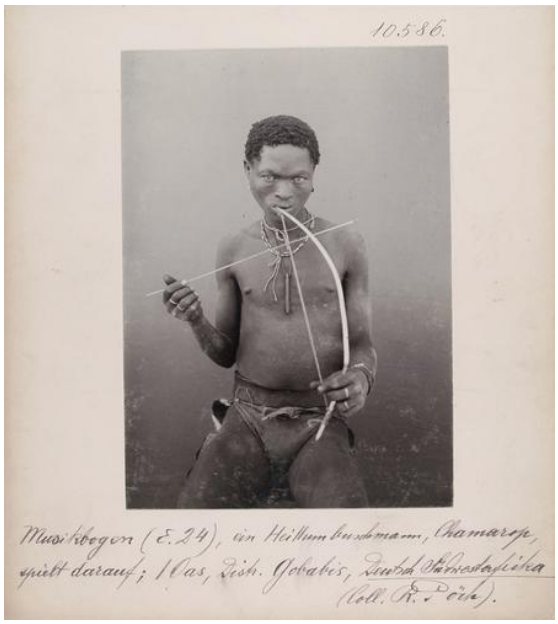
Rudolf Pöch, an Austrian doctor, with his interest in anthropology, medicine, archaeology, musicology and linguistics, botany, zoology and geology, ethnology was "…sent by the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Vienna 'to study the last remaining bushmen of pure race'"[382] His "…collection in Vienna, however is a large collection of skeletal human remains housed in at least two institutions…Some [of these remains] reflect bullet holes indicating violent death. Remains from southern Africa are also to be found among the 35 000 skeletons kept in the attic of the Museum of Natural History"[383] in Vienna.

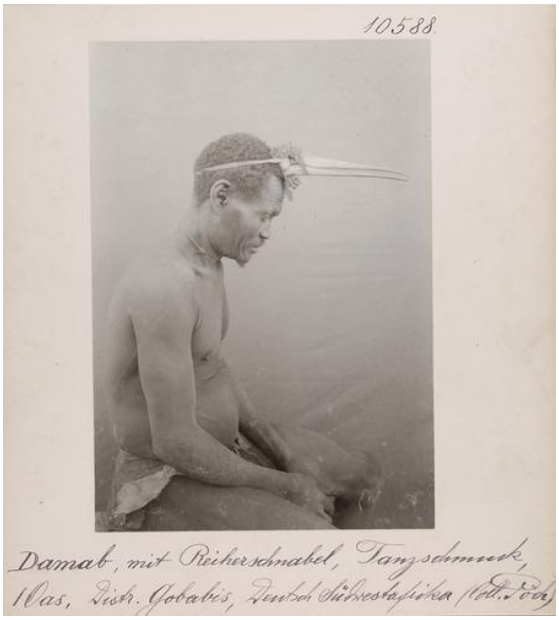
In the years "between 1905-1906 Pöch undertook an independent expedition to New Guinea, where he focused his research on physical anthropology. A special feature of Pöch's research trips was above all his technical equipment.

In addition to a heavy plate camera, he also took along a film camera with which he received cinematographic images of the indigenous population of New Guinea. A compilation of photographic and cinematic original recordings in the form of the silent film "New Guinea" gives an insight into Pöch's pioneering work.

[381] C. Plug, S2A3 Biographiocal Database of Southern African Science: Lennox, Mr Georges St Leger Gordon <http://www.s2a3.org.za/bio/Biograph_final.php?serial=87>(accessed 5 October 2017)
[382] Martin Legassick & Ciraj Rassol, Skeletons in the Cupboard: South African museums and the trade in human remains 1907-1917 (Cape Town: South African Museum, 2000), p.11.
[383] *Ibid.,* p.11.

The following photographs [Fig.44 & Fig.45] are the results of Pöch's second expedition, which took him from 1907 to 1909 to German South-West Africa."





From left to right: Fig.44 Original title: Musikbogen (E.24), a Hei II umbuschmann, Chamarop, plays on it; I Oas, Distr. Gobabis, german southwest africa. Fig.45 Original title: Damab, with heron's beak, dance jewelery, I Oas, Distr. Gobabis, German Southwest Africa. Source: http://www.kulturpool.at/display/smartworks/Rudolf+Poch

The collection that Pöch had built, was made up of the work he had been doing in the places that he had his athropological work in and his work in Southern Africa came from that long tradition of "socio-physical athro-ethnological"[384] work and as Legassick and Rassool record, "these skeletal remains were the subject of anatomical anaylses which attempted to theorise from measurement, classification and comparison."[385] According to Andrew Arthur Abbie his anthropological work which includes "…113 skulls of which

[384] Concerpt coined in this study to refer to the interdisciplinarity of sociological, physical athropological and ethnological work in which Rudolph Pöch was involved.
[385] Martin Legassick & Ciraj Rassol, Skeletons in the Cupboard: South African museums and the trade in human remains 1907-1917 (Cape Town: South African Museum, 2000), p.11.

Pòch collected 50 himself..."[386] and that of his contemporaries such as *Péringuey*, Lennox and many others, Robyn-Leigh Cedras conclude that they "sought to convert an ideology into empirical knowledge"[387] As further interrogated by Legassick and Rassool, their work, "was to collect San remains principally for the measurement of skulls as a part of racial science in order to understand the classification of human 'types' and their 'prehuman' ancestors…[in an attempt]…to prove that people of colour were intellectually and morally inferior to whites, thinking that later fed into Nazi racial thought and ideas of the inherent superiority of 'Aryans'"[388]

Legassick and Rassool record that Pòch "…died young (in 1921), merely two years after being appointed to the new chair in anthropology at the University of Vienna, and did not leave to see the dissemination of Nazi teaching, the racial research that he had initiated on Khoisan remains plundered from southern Africa, was part of the origins of Nazi racial ideology."[389] And it is the spectre of this Nazi race 'science' and ideology that has left a long shadow of the evidence of human violations hovering over museums in the 'post-colonial' society. His photographic and cinematographic work on the life of indigenous people is one pioneering work that set a tone for stereotypification of indigenous peoples in southern Africa, it depicted them through that colonial lens as people frozen in time.

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[386] Andrew Arthur Abbie, Rudolf Pöch Vol. 33, No. 2 (Dec., 1962), pp. 128-130 http://www.jstor.org/stable/40329365 (accessed 1 May 2018)

[387] Robyn-Leigh Cedras, 'The Halls of History: The Making and Unmaking of the Life-casts at the Ethnography Galleries of the Iziko South African Museum' (Unpublished M Phil thesis, University of Cape Town), p.19.

[388] Martin Leggasick in Remains of a race sccettered across Europe by Shaun Smillie https://www.iol.co.za/mercury/world/remains-of-a-race-scattered-across-europe-417791 (accessed 1 May 2018)

[389] Martin Legassick & Ciraj Rassol, Skeletons in the Cupboard: South African museums and the trade in human remains 1907-1917 (Cape Town: South African Museum, 2000), p.12.

2.2.4 Understanding Poch's photographs 10586 and 10588: Unfreezing the Frozen

The two photographs depict two male Africans frozen in time in some anthropological poses, with one male in the photograph on the left holding a musical instrument gazing back at the photographer, whilst the male in the image on the right with a long pointy beak attached to his head with a string is looking to the right direction with his head slightly tilted forward. In both cases the photographer would have told the men to pose in a particular way to create a certain impression not just about them but also about the people they represent. It is precisely this impression that draws our attention to the sad eyes of the man who is holding a musical instrument. And the irony with this protograph is that, whilst the man is holding musical instruments that are used create an atmosphere of joy and conviviality, but it is not the sense that you get when your eyes analyses the photograph. Instead of making you happy the photographs instils a sense of melancholia in you, a sense of being captured of the invible hands of the colonial photographer, whose imprints are all over the photographs: the numbers the inscriptions. This uncanny feeling crosses over to the photograph on the right, the man looks defeated and completeley disspossesed, his profile pose perhaps profiles the depth of the psychological pain of loosing land that indigenous people had suffered at the time of the taking of these photographs.

In South-West Africa this was the period of genocide when entire population had been wipped out, some imprisoned on Shark Island. It was also the time when in 1907

Kaptein Cornelius Fredericks of the Nama of Bethanië died and as Shampapi Shiremo notes, “it is believed that Kaptein Cornelius Frederiks was decapitated and his head exported to Germany for pseudo-scientific studies which were aimed at proving the superiority of the white race over all other races.”[390] Gazing upon both these photographs you cannot escape the feeling of heavly burdened by the fact that both men were on the receiving end of the harshness of the degrading practices that came with the men of the west and the most desturbing ‘truth’ is the knowledge that, they too most probably were captured just like the rest of their fellow Africans.

All in all what these men are perhaps pointing us to, is the locale benearth the veil of the greyness photographs the window through which we are made to see and feel the devastating effects of white supremacy, its usurping power to define and classify those it deemed less and this is precisely what is happening here.

Beyond these factors, something else is at play here, and is what Magubane defines as “an institutionalized philosophical racialism [that] became increasingly important as a rational for constituting the ‘native’ as a subject race.”[391] In this instance Poch, constitutes by bringing colour to this ‘native subjects’, they have to pose is a certain way to make a certian posture that will ressemble something. But whilst this is happening

[390] Shampapi Shiremo, Namibia: Cornelius Frederiks – the Smartest Master of Guerrilla Tactics Against the Schutztruppe http://allafrica.com/stories/201110210776.html (accessed 14 April 2018)
[391] Bernard Magubane, Social Construction of Race and Citizenship in South Africa (conference paper, 3-5 September) p.21 http://unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/(httpAuxPages)/63265CAFF973018D80256B6D005785D1/%24file/dmaguban.pdf (accessed 14 April 2018)

one must ask who defines Poch's whiteness and its 'authority' here? Can we shift from the black 'subjects' to Poch's performative whiteness and its privilege?

We now turn to Melisa Steyn, who helps understand the privilege position that come with whiteness that Poch is holding behing that lens as he moves his subjects and instructing them to pose in a particular way. Clearly this is whiteness at play, but what is whiteness? Steyn argues that, "whiteness was a modernist construction, central to the colonization project, and achieved through exorcism of everything 'black' particularly African, from White identity."[392] To Nirmal Puwar, "whiteness is defined as the norm and the standard neutral space"[393], "defined as an absence of colour"[394]

By neutral space modernist construction and absence of colour what could Puwar, Steyn and Williams be impying? Could they perhaps be implying what Burgin is positing which is the fact that, "White…has a strange property of directing our attention to colour while in the very same movement it exonerates itself as a colour."[395] In what Puwar defines as the "Power of Invisibility", of whiteness, she argues that, "the fact that whiteness is also a colour and a racialised position remains a non issue precisely because race is ex-nominated. Left unnamed and unseen, invisibility in this context is

[392] Melissa Steyn, Whiteness Just Isn't What It Used To Be: White Identity in a Changing South Africa (United States of America: State University of New York Press Albany, 2001), p. 150
[393] Nirmal Puwar, Space Invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies Out of Place (Oxford & New York: Berg, 2004), p.135.
[394] Williams in Nirmal Puwar, Space Invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies Out of Place (Oxford & New York: Berg, 2004), pp.57-58
[395] Burgin in Nirmal Puwar, Space Invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies Out of Place (Oxford & New York: Berg, 2004), p.58

clearly a place of power."[396] This rationale could be extended to what we are seeing in these two photographs. First of all Pochs' invisibility embodies that 'Power of Invisibility' that Puwar is talking about, the 'authority' to define the two black 'subjects' that are at his disposal, but the two black men cannot define him back, because they dont posses the same privilege provided to him by the colonial environment that enables him to operate. In this context these disenfranchised black bodies remain Poch's curiosities that can be manipulated at will. At a psychological level, Poch's, "whiteness draws power to itself but refusing to be named..."[397], thus refusing "to become vulnerable"[398] and this is what constitutes real power. Poch knows this fact that the people he is subjecting to anthropological gaze will never return this critical gaze back at him, he is fully aware of their dispossession, landlessness and disenfranchisement. Infact it is these colonial effects that made it possible for him to extract information from his 'subjects'.

One may draw paralles similar to the scenario drawn by Puwar and argue that in this context, "...the culture of whiteness is not seen"[399], and Poch continues to display the cultural practice that makes it possible for him to be white, to be 'neutral' and invisible and by "being placed as neutral, the norm and the standard...[his whiteness] has not

[396] Nirmal Puwar, Space Invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies Out of Place (Oxford & New York: Berg, 2004), p.58.
[397] Natasha Distiller & Melissa Steyn, Introduction: Under Construction in Under Construction: 'Race' and Identity in South Africa (eds) Natasha Distiller & Melissa Steyn (Sandton: Heinemann Publishers (Pty) Ltd, 2004), p.6.
[398] W. Lale Demirturk, The Twenty-First Century African American Novel and the Critique of Whiteness in Everyday Life: Blackness as Strategy of Social Change (Lanham, Boulder, nEWY York & London: LEXINGTON BOOKS, 2016), p.197.
[399] Nirmal Puwar, Space Invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies Out of Place (Oxford & New York: Berg, 2004), p.135.

been problematised as being structured by normative whiteness"[400] and to make Poch visible is to problematise and deauthorise his whiteness. But, as Puwar further argues, "the task of making whiteness visible is an extremely difficult one. It means training the eye to see the racial nature of that which has been defined as outside of race, to be unmarked by race, as just normal"[401] By questioning Poch's privilege positionality we do exactly what Puwar is imploring us to do. We unstandardize that which has been accepted as the standard, we de-neutralize whiteness so as to subject it to racialising processes in the same way that people of colour have been racialised for example, to see it and also make it seen. In doing so i propose a shift of the gaze from the black 'subjects' to white 'subjects', to fulfill Jean Paul Sartre's fears, when he observes in Coetzee and Roux that, "today these Black men have fixed their gaze upon us and our gaze is thrown back in our eyes..."[402] Richard Dyer in Puwar, reasons that, "the very point of looking at whiteness is to dislodge it from its centrality and authority"[403] Though this argument is confined in Poch's performative whiteness, but he is not the only culprit here, for there is the network of ideas and the museological institution to which he fed his racist diatribe and therefore to problematise the very foundations upon which whiteness is built, "...we need to go beyond the surface appearance of whiteness to investigate its complex and awesome internal structures"[404], and in the museological context such internal structures include among others the acquisition and accummulation of skeletal remains in museum collections. It was to this colonial

[400] Nirmal Puwar, Space Invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies Out of Place (Oxford & New York: Berg, 2004), p.135.
[401] *Ibid*
[402] Jean Paul Sartre in Coetzee P.H and Roux APH, Philosophy from Africa (2nd ed) (South Africa: Oxford University Press Southern Africa, 2002), p.149.
[403] Richard Dyer in Nirmal Puwar, Space Invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies Out of Place (Oxford & New York: Berg, 2004), p.135.
[404] Vron Ware, Les Back, Out of Whiteness (USA: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p.1.

cultural tradition of collecting the relics and crania of the racial and cultural 'other' that Poch's work serves. When he was sent by Imperial Academy of Sciences based in Vienna to study the San people and collect their mortal remains in Southern Africa, he was showing his allegiance to the colonial matrice. And since he was subject to a system much bigger than himself, we leave him not mention his name again for his work was no different from that of von Luschan.

Von Luschan worked with military men such as "…Lieutenant Ralph Zurn in Okahandja who donated to him more skulls ('specimens')"[405], grave robbers, body snatchers and his work knew no boundaries, for on 17 August 1905 he visited Breakwater Prison in South Africa and requested "...photographs of a few native convicts typical of the tribes to which they belong."[406]

In the stamped letter dated 28 August 1905 [Appendix A], with the subject "Photographs of Convicts: Application of Professor Von Luschan for Copies of..."[407], it is revealed that his request was declined, "...i am directed to inform you that the Colonial Secretary does not think that the photographs of convicts, which are filed in the Convict Branch of this Office for the purpose of use in connection with criminal investigation, should be given to any outside private individual."[408] Though the letter he had writen to the superintendent of the Breakwater Convict Sation could not be located in the Western

[405] Kuaima Riruako, Statement by Hon. Kuaima Riruako Paramont Chief of the Ovaherero, Berlin, Federal Republic of Germany, 30 September 2011 (speech), p. 11.
[406] Letter from the Colonial Secretary's Office, Cape Town: Cape of Good Hope Superintendent of Breakwater Convict Station written to Felix von Luschan dated 28 August 1905. A9 209/484.
[407] Letter from the Colonial Secretary's Office, Cape Town: Cape of Good Hope Superintendent of Breakwater Convict Station written to Felix von Luschan dated 28 August 1905. A9 209/484.
[408] *Ibid*

Cape Archives of South Africa, it is the position of this study that, such a letter would have been penned down either on the day (17 August) he visited the prison or just after the observation of what he had seen at Breakwater. And another possibility is that, due to his influence and and network in the field, he could have used his network to do this work. Whatever the possibility, probality and likelihood might have been, as a point of departure we know from historical evidence that, a letter was written to him to respond to his request to obtain photographs of indigenous people and that request was declined.

After all Luschan just like many of his contemporaries and aspiring 'scientists' was a race 'scientist' who was embroiled in the business of stereotypifying indigenous peoples.

Apart from him being denied the material which he would have obviously used as Andrew Bank would say, "…to serve this new science"[409], it is not clear as to what may have been other undisclosed reasons, when race profiling and stereotypification through photographing of convicts was allowed and infact endorsed by the colonial administration in the prison. Was it because of notoreity and niferious bussiness in trading with human remains to museums and other 'science' institutions that he was embroiled in? Rassool and Legassick bring our attention to the fact that at one point von Luschan ordered bones of an 'Bushwoman' who had not died yet. This we pick it up in Legassick and Rassool's account in the correspondence between Rev Westphal

[409] Andrew Bank, Bushmen is a Victotian World: The remarkable story of the Bleek-Lloyd Collection of Bushman folklore (Cape Town: Juta & Co. Ltd, 2006), p.105.

and Maria Wilman who had been sent to Northern Cape by Peringuey to collect human 'specimens' where it is stated that, "…there is a living, but she may die anyday, a bushwoman whose bones have already been bespoken by Professor Von Luschan…"[410] In some instances, von Luschan through his contacts was involved in the bussiness of grave robbing to lay hands on the bones of the burried and the dead. In view of some of these incidents and others not mentioned here, it could be that, the Breakwater prison authorities suspected that his project would somehow have found its way and that he would lay his hands on the sought after cranial remains of the convicts who were dying in prison?

We know from the historical anals that the Breakwater prison, as one of the biggest prisons in South Africa at the time had allowed the likes of Wilhelm Bleek to undertake the same athropological work that von Luschan was being refused to access. To shared some light on this we now turn to Andrew Bank's account, *Bushman in the Victotian World*, where he records that, after Thomas Huxley became the president of the Anthroplogical Society in London, he became engrossed in notions of "…an empire-wide photographic project in British colonies to an earlier initiative 'to gather specimens of the tribes of India, the Indian Archipelago, Persia and Arabia for anthropological purposes, including both live physical measurement and photography."[411]

[410] Martin Legassick & Ciraj Rassol, Skeletons in the Cupboard: South African museums and the trade in human remains 1907-1917 (Cape Town: South African Museum, 2000), p.6.
[411] Andrew Banks, Bushmen is a Victotian World: The remarkable story of the Bleek-Lloyd Collection of Bushman folklore (Cape Town: Juta & Co. Ltd, 2006), p.105.

2.2.5 Exhibiting the 'other' in the colonial context

These British colonial spectatorial initiatives can for example be attributed to what is said to have been the success of the 1851 Great Exhibition held at Crystal Palace in Hyde Park, organized by Henry Cole and Prince Albert. Robert J. Gordon, quotes Anne McClintock as having argued that, "it was the harbinger…of the shift from scientific to commodity racism"[412] And that, "these spectacles were succesful becaused they managed to educate and socialize while the spectators thought they were being entertained. They were successful not only in the metropole but in the 'cultural fringe', settler colonies like Australia and South Africa, as well."[413]

Bernth Lindfors, records that, there were also many other exhibitions such the Zulu exhibitions organized by A.T. Caldecott, and that "during the month that the Zulus were on stage in London, there were competing exhibitions of such people as the 'Earthmen' (a pair of diminuitive individuals described in the illustrated London News as 'pygmies' from Southern Africa [6 Nov. 1852: 371-72] [Fig.46] who lived in holes in the ground, but susequently identified by medical doctor and member of the English Ethnological Society as 'Bushman-Troglodytes, or Troglodyte-Bushmen' who lived in natural caves rather than in ordinary Bushman habitations (Latham 149), and the 'Aztec Lilliputians' [Fig.47] (whose reported 'capture' in an allerged mysterious city lately discovered in

[412] Anne McClintock in Robert J. Gordon, "Bain's Bushmen": Scenes at the Empire Exhibition, 1936 (ed) Bernth Lindfors, African on Stage: Studies in the Ethnological Show Business (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1999), p.266.
[413] Robert J. Gordon, "Bain's Bushmen": Scenes at the Empire Exhibition, 1936 (ed) Bernth Lindfors, African on Stage: Studies in the Ethnological Show Business (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1999), p.266.

Central America' was dismissed by at least one newpaper as a 'cock and bull story' [The Examiner 9 July 1853: 439], and was later thoroughly discredited by the Secretary of the English Ethnological Society, who regarded these dwarfish creatures as nothing more than profoundly retarded and deformed children hauled up for public display by mercenary hucksters (Lathan 120-37, 297)"[414]

From top to bottom: Fig.46 Photograph of two San girls with an inscription "Earthmen" and dated 1852 taken during the time when A.T. Caldecott had brought Zulus to be exhibited in London in 1853. Fig.47 The photograph of Maxicano *Máximo Valdez Núñez and Bartola Velásquez*, were the stage names of two Salvadoran siblings both suffering from microcephaly and cognitive developmental disability who were exhibited in human zoos in the 19th century, the 'Aztec Lilliputians'. Sources: Larry J. Schaff: http://foxtalbot.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/2016/04/29/aztecs-ice-skating-miss-mitfords-dog/

[414] Bernth Lindfors, Charles Dickens and the Zulus in African on Stage: Studies in the Ethnological Show Business (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1999), pp-63-64.

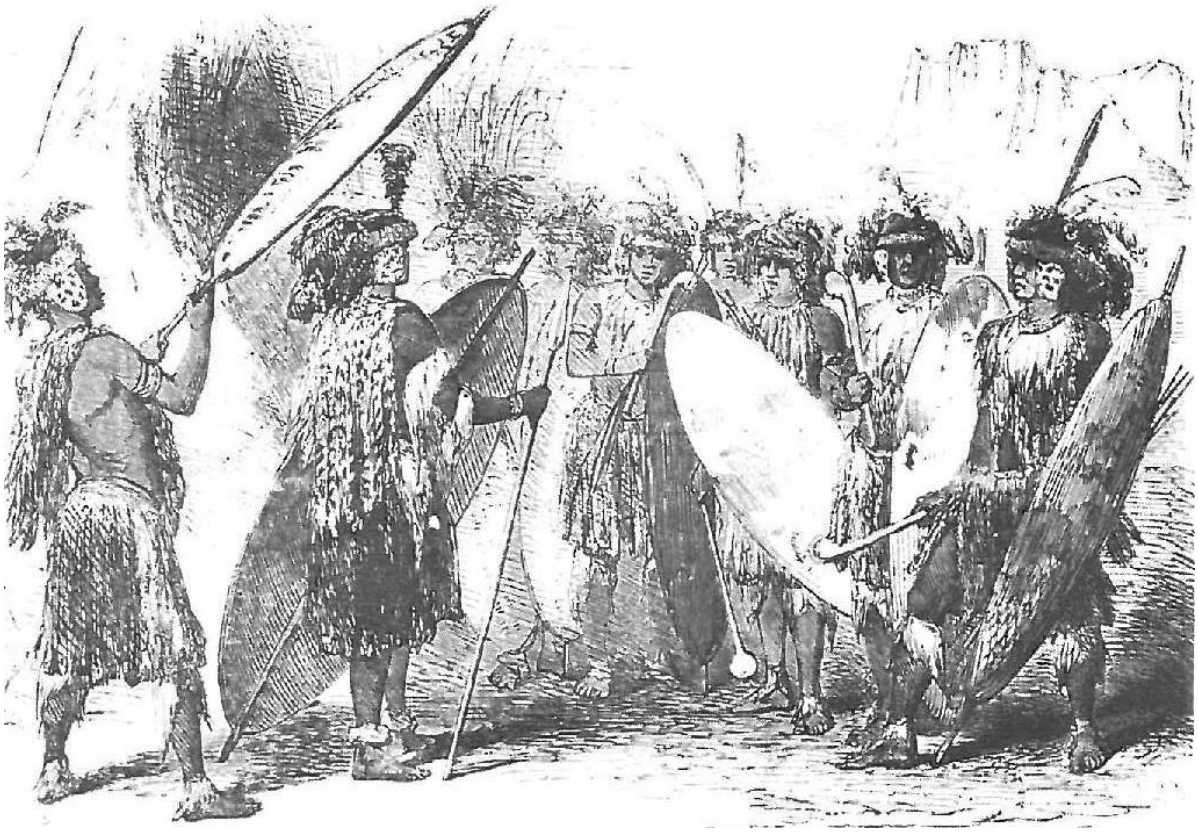


Fig.48 Illustrations of the Zulus by C.H. Caldescott, the son of A.T. Caldescott ‘who wrote a thirty-two-page pamphlet entitled Descriptive History of the Zulu Kafirs, Their Customs and Their Country, With Illustrations…” Source: Bernth Lindfors, p. 68.

2.3 ‘Noble Savage” - Charles Dickens

With their performances, well built physical bodies and tradisional outfit, the Zulus [Fig.48] attracted more attention during their perforasmnces at these Human Zoo exhibitions. It is reported that Charles Dickens went to see one at St Georges Gallery, and after his experince “he wrote a humorous essay entitled ‘The Noble Savage’ which

appeared in the 11 June issue of *Household Words.*"[415] Lindfors quotes him as having reflected that, "there is at present a party of Zulu Kafirs exhibition at the St. George's Gallery, Hyde Park Corner, London. These noble savages are represented in a most agreeable manner; they are seen in an elegant theatre, fitted with appropriate scenery of great beauty, and they are described in a very sensible and unpretending lecture, delivered with a modesty which is quite a pattern to all similar exponents."[416] He goes further to comment that, "though extremely ugly, they are much better shaped than such of their predecessors as I have referred to; and they are rather picturesque to the eye, though far from ordoriferous to the nose…But let us – with the interpreter's assistance, of which I for one stand so much in need – see what the noble savage does in Zulu Kaffirland."[417]

With all his flattering and wit which should not obstruct us from understanding Dickens as a product of his time, Lindfors further quotes him as having concluded that, "my position is, that if we have anything to learn from the Noble Savage, it is what to avoid. His virtues are fable; his happiness is a delusion; his nobility, nonsense…and the world will be all the better when his place knows him no more. (339)"[418] What could Dickens be suggesting by "the world will be all the better when his place knows him no more"?[419] Could he be advocating for their extermination off the surface of the earth to make way for none savaged, white settlers in the colonies? Or could he simply be playing with

[415] Bernth Lindfors, Charles Dickens and the Zulus in African on Stage: Studies in the Ethnological Show Business (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1999), p.69.
[416] Bernth Lindfors, Charles Dickens and the Zulus in African on Stage: Studies in the Ethnological Show Business (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1999), p.70.
[417] *Ibid.,* p.70.
[418] *Ibid.,* p.76.
[419] *Ibid.,* p.76.

words to create an impression about the Zulus? Whatever the scenario is, Lindfors seems to suppose that, "although it sometimes appears so in this essay, Dickens was no really recommending genocide…[he] did not suggest that such peoples be exterminated; rather, he wanted them 'civilised off the face of the earth'. He believed in cultural, not literal, genocide."[420] But has it not been the pattern and the case that cultural extermination of a people has led to physical extermination in the colonies? Meaning that by dehumanizing the people culturally and spiritually etc, you are infact creating an impression to that seeks to render them as not worthy of existing, thus should be replaced.

2.3.1 Wa Thiong'o Cultural Genocide

In his account *Decolonizing the Mind* Ngugi Wa Thiong'o captures this quite explicity when understanding the effects of colonialism and imperialism in the African context. To wa Thiong'o "Imperialism is total: it has economic, political, military, cultural and psychological consequences for the people of the world today. It could even lead to holocaust."[421] Its an experience of alienation to the 'self', "on a larger scale it is like producing a society of bodiless heads and headless bodies."[422]

He terms this alienation a 'cultural bomb', in other words, the continuing 'cultural genocide' waged on the African cultures through colonisation and imperialistic

[420] Bernth Lindfors, Charles Dickens and the Zulus in African on Stage: Studies in the Ethnological Show Business (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1999), pp.76-77
[421] Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (Great Britain: James Currey, 1986), p.2.
[422] *Ibid.,* p.28.

endeavours by the powers of the 'Global North'. Further to this, wa Thiong'o brings to our attention the fact, that "the effect of the cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environments, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves"[423] And it is precisely this link between cultural extermination and marking African people as creatures that could be exterminated at will to make way for white settlement that Lindfors fails to see in Dickens reference to the Zulu's. The overt and covert institutionalized racism with which Dickens embelishes his writing. To Lindfors, "the performers obviously overstepped the boundaries of Victorian decorum when they sang and danced, but their antics presumably would not have provoked so much hilarity among spectators with cultural traditions more closely akin to those of the performers themselves. Underlying the reactions of Dickens and other English viewers was a broaf streak of undisguised racism, a belief that the Zulus were morally and mentally inferior to Europeans. The numerous comments on their smell, their bizarre modes of dress, (and undress), theor noises, their monotonous songs, rabid incanations, and wild, demonical dances betray an arrogant assumption that the Zulus were overgrown children of nature who had not yet developed the inhibitions, self-discipline, and manners that distinguish more civilized folk. They were savages pure and simple, primitives in the raw."[424]

[423] Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (Great Britain: James Currey, 1986), p.3.
[424] Bernth Lindfors, Charles Dickens and the Zulus in African on Stage: Studies in the Ethnological Show Business (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1999), p.77.

According to Shane Peacock, even later in the late 1870s after the Battle of Asandlwa that left many British soldiers dead in a battle with the Zulu's, "African people, whom English had for the most part considered mentally and physically inferior, were outsmarting and butchering their brightest young men. Though Zulus were still not accorded much true respect, they began to rise in the British public's mind as larger-than-life warriors of nearly superhuman capabilities."[425] It was Signor Farini who according to Peacock "in early 1879…showed the British public what they claimed they were afraid to face: those monstrous Zulus."[426] It is recorded further by Peacock that, "Sir Theophilus Shepstone, the secretary of the Native Affairs in Natal, also put in writing for public consumption that one of these Zulus was the eldest son of Chief Somkali"[Fig.49]. Shepstone's endorsement brought more credence and 'authenticity', that these indeed were Zulus from Natal.

Fig.49 The photograph of what is believed to be the eldest son of Chief Somkali. Source: Shane Peacock in Bernth Lindfors, African On Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business, 1999, p89

[425] Shane Peacock, Africa Meets Great Farini in African on Stage: Studies in the Ethnological Show Business (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1999), p.86.
[426] Shane Peacock, Africa Meets Great Farini in African on Stage: Studies in the Ethnological Show Business (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1999), p.86.

Since the news of the defeat of the British regiment at the Battle of Isandlwana was still fresh, Farini faced some resistance from Politicians for bringing the Zulus who represented the enemy that attached and killed the British soldiers. He then started expanding his variety and focused on the San from the Kalahari and his right hand-man W.A. Healey brought him six San [Fig.50] pupils from the Southern Kalahari Desert to be showcased at the Westminster Aquarium as "'Earthmen','Pygmies' or 'yellow dwarfs'"[427]

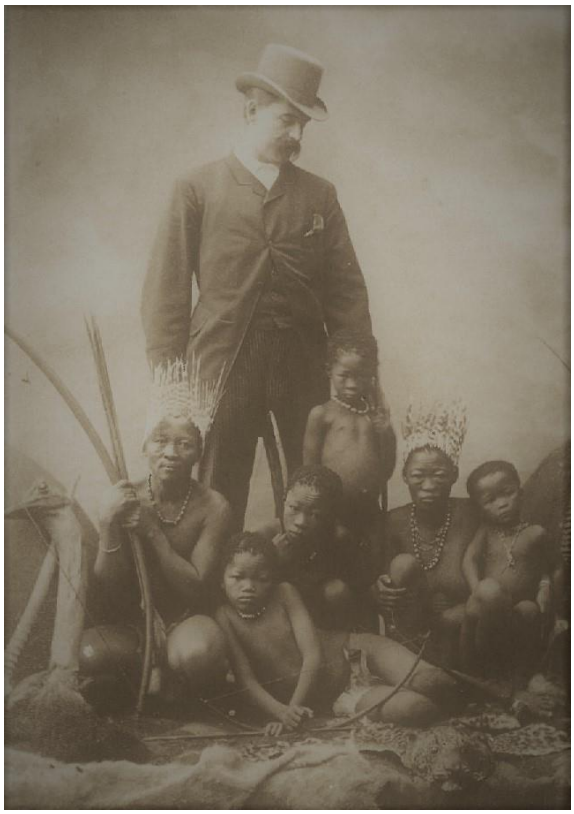
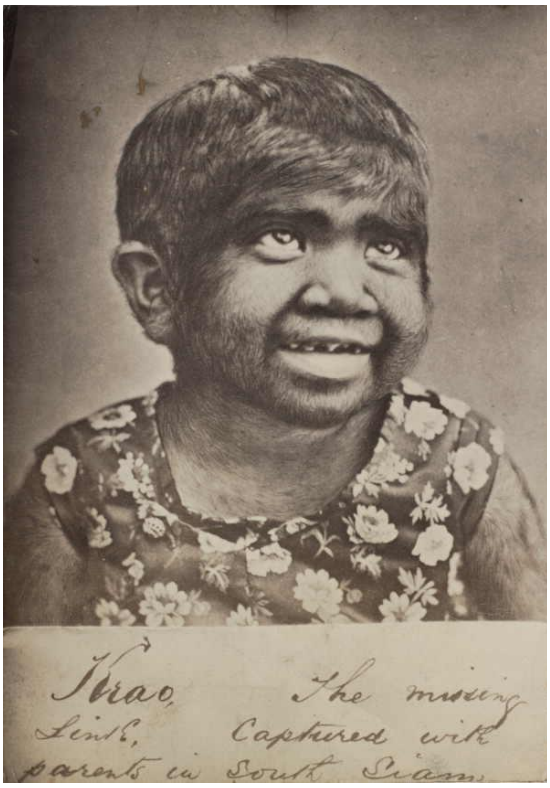
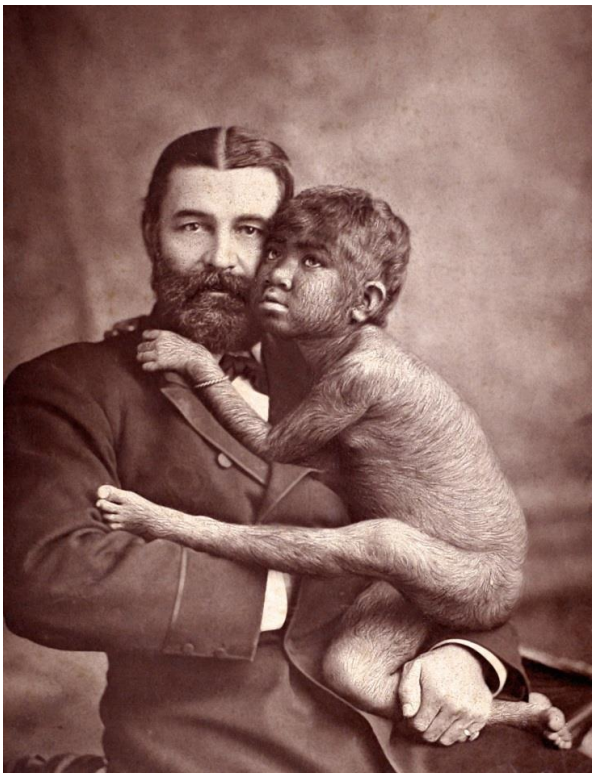


Fig.50 Photograph of Guillermo Antonio Farini also known as William Leonard Hunt with six San people two adults, two teenages and two children who had been brought over to Great Britain for display in the Aquarium by his right hand-man W.A. Healey from the Southern Kalahari Desert. © Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, accession number 1998.211.4.1.

[427] Shane Peacock, Africa Meets Great Farini in African on Stage: Studies in the Ethnological Show Business (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1999), p.94.

Then there was the story of Krao [Fig.51] “The Missing Link”, “a Thai girl born around 1872 in a small village in Laos”[428] whose “hypetrocisis, a condition that produces an abundance of body hair, became living proof of the fabled ‘Missing Link’”[429]





From left to right Fig.51 Portrait photograph of Krao. Fig.52 Image of Krao being held by G.A. Farini. Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Krao-Victorian-Freak-Show-Missing-Link.jpg

According to Elizabeth Anderson, “Krao was first discovered in Laos by a Norwegian explorer, Karl Bock, and his his assistant Professor George Shelly, scout for the showman G.A. Farini who had heard of Barnum’s success with the Burmese hairy

[428] Elizabeth Anderson, Preserving the Past…Promoting the Future: Side Show World, http://www.sideshowworld.com/76-Blow/2014/Missing-Link/Krao.html (accessed 15 December 2017)
[429] Ann Garascia, The Freak Show’s ‘Missing Links’: Krao Farini and the Pleasures of Archiving Prehistory (Journal of Victorian Culture, 21:4, 433-455, DOI:10.1080/13555502.216.1230370) http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13555502.2016.1230370 (accessed 14 December 2017)

family (Mah Phoon, Moung Phoset and Mah Me) and sought a hairy freak on his show. Following leads from local people, Bock stumbled into Krao's native village, where a motjher and father were exhibiting their remarkable hairydaughter as a curiosity. When the little girl wandered away from her parents, they called her back with the word *krao*, which Bock assumed to be her name. Bock and Shelly paid the parents $350 to take the child with him back to England."[430]

She goes further to record that, "Farini first exhibited Krao, the then eleven years on, at the Royal Aquarium at Westminster in London in late 1882. The description of Krao published at the Royal Aquarium is peppered with references to her simian attributes: 'the eyes of the child are large, dark and lustrous; the nose is flattened, the nostrils scarcely showing; the cheeks are fat and pouch-like; the lower lip only rather than is usual in Europeans; but the chief particylarity is the strong and abundant hair…"[431]

Under the theme "The Missing Link", Cartoons and posters were created to attract audiences to come and see "Darwin's Missing Link". According to Rosline Poignant these "freak shows sought to ritualize physical and cultural difference through the 'showspace' a confluence of time and space that materialized historically specific relationships between colonizers and colonized."[432] Garascia further argues that, "Krao was part of the prehistoric cohort including San Bushmen (1840s), 'Aztecs' (1849-189?),

[430] Elizabeth Anderson, Preserving the Past…Promoting the Future: Side Show World, http://www.sideshowworld.com/76-Blow/2014/Missing-Link/Krao.html (accessed 15 December 2017)
[431] *Ibid*
[432] Rosline Poignant, Professional Savages: Captive Lives and Western Spectacle in Ann Garascia The Freak Show's 'Missing Links': Krao Farini and the Pleasures of Archiving Prehistory (Journal of Victorian Culture, 21:4, 433-455, DOI:10.1080/13555502.216.1230370) http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13555502.2016.1230370 (accessed 14 December 2017)

'Earthmen (1853), Fiji Cannibals (1872), Farini's Pygmies (1883), and North Queensland Australians (1800s). Displayed according to the exotic mode of presentation, prehistoric freak performers pandered to the public's taste for the primitive and culturally alien in a period marked by tireless exploration and expansion."[433] These freak shows [Fig. 53] features human odditties in their variety "*from 'The Four-Legged Girl' to 'The Dog-Faced Boy,'…"*[434]

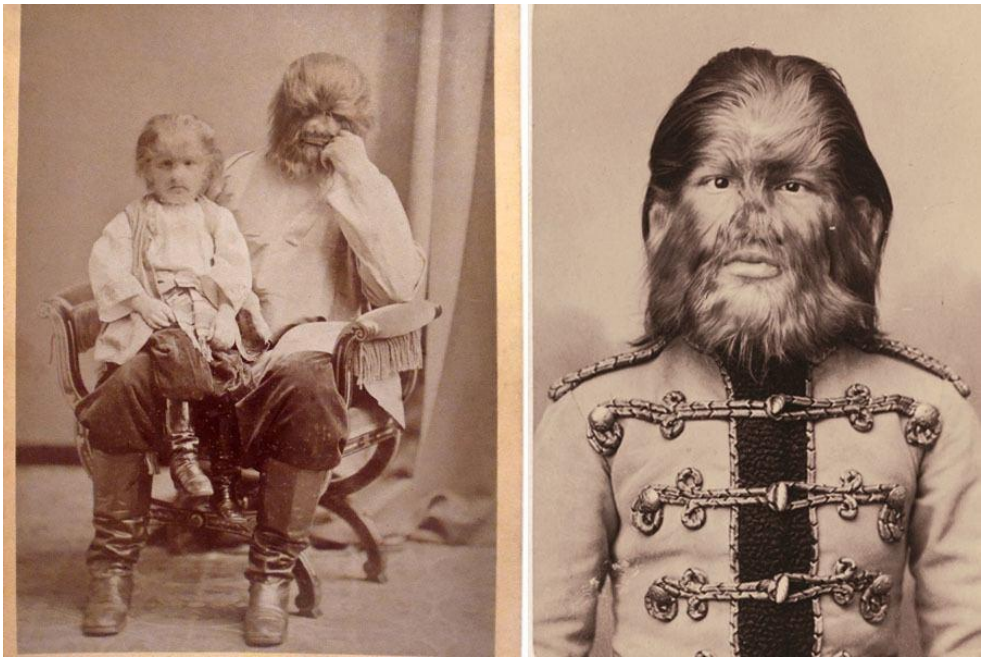
Fig.53 "Congress of Freaks" circa 1924. Wikimedia Commons.

[433] Ann Garascia, The Freak Show's 'Missing Links': Krao Farini and the Pleasures of Archiving Prehistory (Journal of Victorian Culture, 21:4, 433-455, DOI:10.1080/13555502.216.1230370) http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13555502.2016.1230370 (accessed 14 December 2017)
[434] Erin Kelly, The Sad Stories of the Ringling Brothers' Freak Show Acts, 2017 http://all-that-is-interesting.com/freak-show-members (accessed 15 December 2017).

Fig.54 Photograph of the The four-legged girl, Myrtle Corbin. Source Wikimedia Commons. http://all-that-is-interesting.com/freak-show-members

Fig.55 Photograph of Annie Jones, the world-famous bearded lady of the Ringling Bros. and Barnum & Bailey Circus. Source Wikimedia Commons. http://all-that-is-interesting.com/freak-show-members

Left to right: Fig.56 The Giant Jack Earle with fellow performent Major Mite, who stood 2'2" tall. Fig.57 Earle shows his size next to an average-sized man. Boston Lublic Library/Flickr. Source: http://all-that-is-interesting.com/freak-show-members



Left to right: Fig.58 Jo-Jo the Dog-Faced Boy and his father. Right Fig.59 A portrait of Jo-Jo. Wikimedia Commons. Source: http://all-that-is-interesting.com/freak-show-members

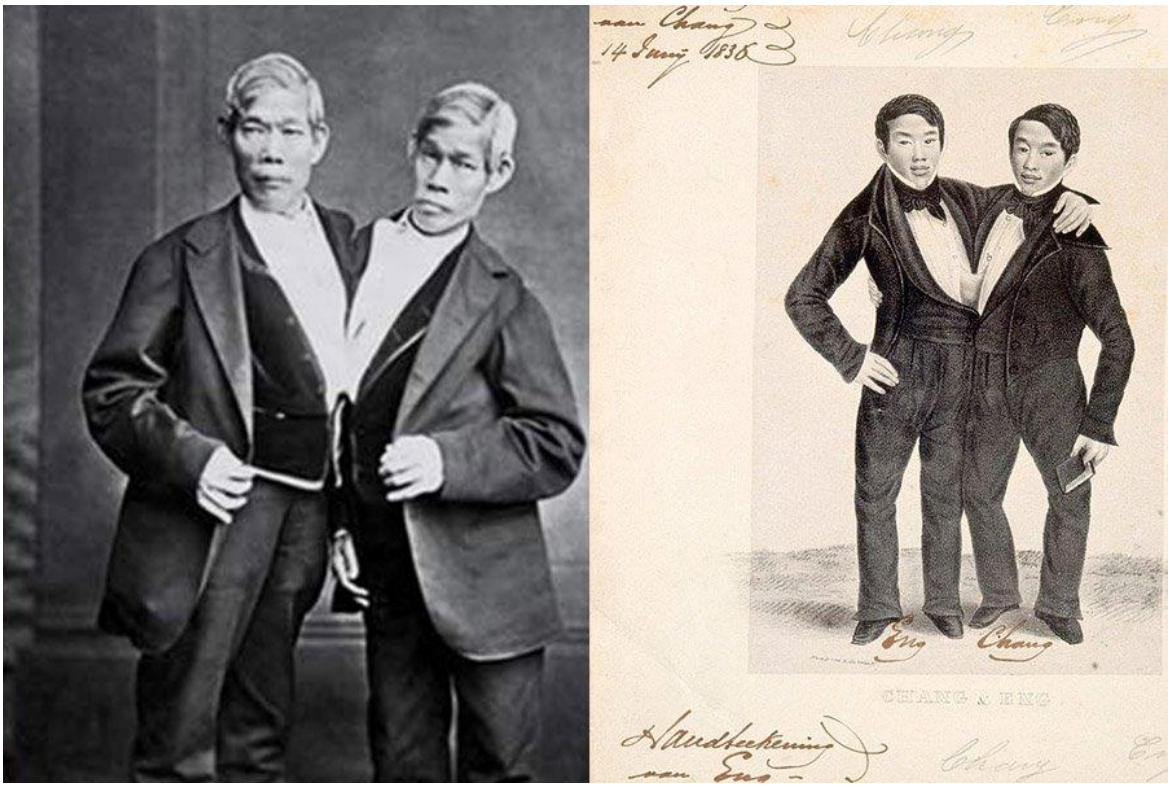


Fig.60 Chang and Eng Bunker ("The Siamese Twins). Fig.61 Drawing of the twins.

Ann further argues that, "while fellow prehistoric performers like Bartola and Maximo, the 'the ancient Aztecs', were sold as proof of species extinction to highlight prehistory's inability to survive modernity, Krao as the 'Mising Link' modulates this familiar narrative by embodying the persistence of the prehistoric."[435] And "centring on the 'Missing Link', Krao's pamphlet articulates other modes of being by awakening a deep past and its human-nonhuman intermediaties."[436] In the eyes of the world that saught to position her in the predemined 'scientific' box as the 'Missing Link', her existences as a body featuring 'unusual' features of abundance hair all over her body and face, "becomes

[435] Ann Garascia, The Freak Show's 'Missing Links': Krao Farini and the Pleasures of Archiving Prehistory (Journal of Victorian Culture, 21:4, 433-455, DOI:10.1080/13555502.216.1230370) http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13555502.2016.1230370 (accessed 14 December 2017) p 436
[436] *Ibid.,* p 436

proof of Lamarck's work on species transmutation, von Baer's on monogenesis, Haeckel's on recapitulation, and Darwin's on evolution"[437], Garascia argues.

2.3.2 Belgium: Chief Lusinga's Head at The Royal Museum for Central Africa in Belgium

"Militairen en koloniale ambtenaren in Congo kregen de opdracht om metingen op Afrikanen uit te voeren of om menselijke resten naar België over te brengen"[438]

"Soldiers and colonial officials in Congo were ordered to carry out measurements on Africans or to transfer human remains to Belgium"[439]

According to Maarten Couttenier in Belgium as early as "...1883, a group of fourteen Araucanians were put on show and measured in Leopold Park in Brussels, home to the Brussels Zoo until 1876 (Houzé 1883)"[440] and this motivated a collection of Congolese human skulls by Belgian colonial soldiers such *Émile* Pierre Joseph *Storms* who at one point was given specific instruction "to collect ethnographic, natural history and physical anthropological items for display at the Antwerp World's Fair in 1885"[441] Couttenier

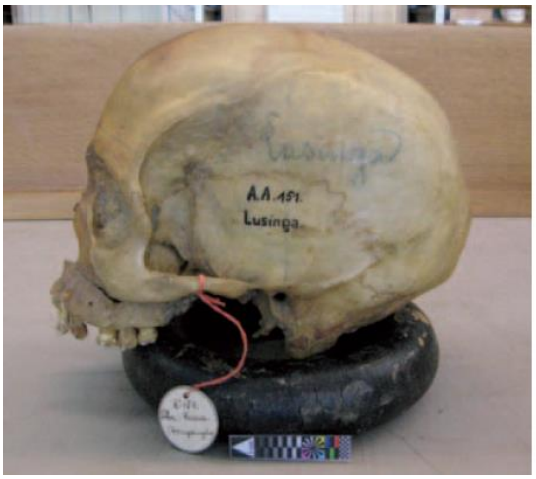
[437] Ann Garascia, The Freak Show's 'Missing Links': Krao Farini and the Pleasures of Archiving Prehistory (Journal of Victorian Culture, 21:4, 433-455, DOI:10.1080/13555502.216.1230370) http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13555502.2016.1230370 (accessed 14 December 2017)
[438] Maarten Couttenier, Fysieke Antropologie in Belgie En Congo 1883-1964: Levende tentoonstellingsobjecten file:///C:/Users/wkasibe/Downloads/Couttenier%202009%20(1).pdf (accessed 29 August 2017), p.98.
[439] *Ibid.,* p.98.
[440] Maarten Couttenier, We Cant Help Laughing: Physical Anthropology in Belgium and Congo (1882-1914) in The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representation (eds) by Nicolas Bancel et al, (New York, Routledge, 2014), p.107.
[441] *Ibid.,* p.103.

quotes Strauch as having recorded Belgium colonial administration's plea to Storm, "do not forget to collect some skulls of local negroes, if you can do so without off ending the superstitious feelings of your people. Try to obtain as many skulls as possible from individuals who belong to a clearly distinct race, and whose features have not undergone any physical change due to inter breeding. Make a careful note of where the people came from and their age if possible (Strauch 1883)"[442] What the colonial administration was asking of Storms was to to bring the skeletal remains of the 'pure' breed.

As the man of the frontier, "Storms complied with this request during the attack on Lusinga, a local Tabwa chief who had threatened the inhabitants of Mpala by saying that he would chop off the head of the first person from Mpala whom he recognized. Storms's reaction was already influenced by recommendations from Brussels."[443] Couttenier quotes Storms as having recorded that, "If he is wretched enough to carry out his plan, then [his head] will probably eventually end up in Brussels with a little label—it would not be out of place in a museum (Storms 1883)."[444] To keep his promise to the colonial administration, "the attack was launched on December 4, 1884, during which Lusinga was killed and beheaded. Many other people died and villages were burned to the ground. Lusinga's head [Fig.62 & Fig.63] ended up in Storms's collection as a military trophy. The news that Storms was collecting his opponents' heads spread

[442] Maarten Couttenier, We Cant Help Laughing: Physical Anthropology in Belgium and Congo (1882-1914) in The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representation (eds) by Nicolas Bancel et al, (New York, Routledge, 2014), p.103.
[443] *Ibid.,* p.103.
[444] *Émile* Pierre Joseph *Storms* in Maarten Couttenier, We Cant Help Laughing: Physical Anthropology in Belgium and Congo (1882-1914) in The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representation (eds) by Nicolas Bancel et al, (New York, Routledge, 2014), p.103.

far and wide. When people were killed during internal conflicts in the area, their heads were sent to Storms. At the end of his posting, Storms brought the skulls of Lusinga, Kapampa, and Malibu to Belgium, where they were examined by Houzé (Houzé 1886a; Roberts 2013, 145)."[445]



Left to right Fig.62 & Fig.63 Profile and front image of Chief Lusinga's Skull with his name inscribed on it. The skull was brought to the The Royal Museum for Central Africa in Belgium after Lusinga was beheaded. Photographs extracted from Maarten Couttenier's article: Fysieke Antropologie in Belgie En Congo 1883-1964, p.111.

Coutteiner, further notes that, after Storms' return, the traces of colonial violence were "forgotten"in the Belgian anthropologist's texts, and replaced by a discussion of brain size, height, skin color, prognathism and cephalic coeffi cients. Houzé observed what he described as inferior and even ape-like characteristics, seeing them as arguments supporting his polygenistic views."[446] According to Sammy Baloji, Chief Lusinga's bodyless skull remained in the museum's archives concealed from the outside world,

[445] Maarten Couttenier, We Cant Help Laughing: Physical Anthropology in Belgium and Congo (1882-1914) in The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representation (eds) by Nicolas Bancel et al, (New York, Routledge, 2014), pp.103-104.
[446] *Ibid.,* p.104.

but shown to the Belgian public as an 'object', "…without all the aspects of the story, all the aspects of violence…all the aspects of exploitation…"[447]

Fig.64 Picture of the tomb stones of the seven Congolese who died during the Tervuren exhibition in 1894 in Belgium. Photographer Unknown

It was not until 1894, "a number of Congolese [Ekia, Gemba, Kitoukwa, M'Peia, Sambo, Zao, and Mibange] fell ill [and died] during the Tervuren exhibition..."[448], Couttenier, records. History goes further to inform us that, "the seven Africans were buried in unconsecrated ground, alongside adulterers and suicides; in fact, it was not until after the Second World War that they were given graves besides the church, and it has become an important memorial place for Congolese in Belgium (Wynants 1997)."[449]

At the intersection of science and politics of the time lies the confluence of "intertwinements of economics, advertising, theatre, and exhibition produced commodify fetishes whereby colonial objects and peoples transformed into magical metonyms of

[447] Sammy Baloji, The Past in Front of Us (interview) [8:20 – 8:30] http://channel.louisiana.dk/video/sammy-baloji-past-front-us (accessed 2 November 2018)
[448] Maarten Couttenier, We Cant Help Laughing: Physical Anthropology in Belgium and Congo (1882-1914) in The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representation (eds) by Nicolas Bancel et al, (New York, Routledge, 2014), p.107.
[449] *Ibid.,* pp.103-108.

Britain's industrial, technological, and imperial strength."[450] And it is these desturbing contintuities of essentializing 'scientific' spectacles that continued to influence the face of science and race in the encounter between the European and indigene. It influenced the way the West perceived and processed the knowledge about the African 'other'. No colonial exhibition was free from these short commings.

In the next chapter we look into the South African Museum as a study case to understand the colonial epistemology and its impact on society.

[450] Ann Garascia, The Freak Show's 'Missing Links': Krao Farini and the Pleasures of Archiving Prehistory (Journal of Victorian Culture, 21:4, 433-455, DOI:10.1080/13555502.216.1230370) http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13555502.2016.1230370 (accessed 14 December 2017) p 436

3.0. CHAPTER THREE

3.1 THE BIRTH OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN MUSEUM AND ITS INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF RACIAL 'OTHERING': THE PATHOLOGY OF THE BUSHMAN DIORAMA

"…it is possible to show on psychological or other scientific grounds that much which has been done in the formation of museums is fundamentally mistaken."[451]

3.1.1 THE BIRTH OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN MUSEUM

Percival R. Kirby, records that on 11 June 1825, the inhabitants of the Cape Colony "…were confronted with this startling piece of information [in the Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser]. His Excellency the Governor [Lord Charles Somerset in Fig.65 being convinced, from various sources, of the endless diversity and novelty of natural products of this Colony, is most desirous to make them in future a subject of particular attention. His Excellency has therefore directed an establishment to be formed in Cape Town under the title of 'The South African Museum', for the reception and classification of the various objects of the

Fig.65, Portrait photo of Lord Charles Somerset. Source: http://www.s2a3.org.za/bio/Biograph_final.php?serial=1629

[451] Stanley Javons, *The Use and Abuse of Museums,* in Hugh H. Genoways & Mary Anne Andrei (eds.), *Museum Origins* (United States of America: Walnut Creek, 2008), p.100.

Animal, Vegetable, and Mineral Kingdoms which are found in South Africa, whereby an opportunity will be opened to the colonists of becoming acquainted with the general and local resources of the Colony. His Excellency trusts, therefore, that the inhabitants will aid him with their exertions, in contributing whatever it is in their power to collect, to promote an institution so interesting and useful.

His Excellency has been pleased to nominate DR ANDREW SMITH, M.D. [Fig.66] to be Superintendant [sic] of this institution, to whom all communications are to be made, addressed to him, at the South African Museum."[452] The advertiser goes on to further state that, "His Excellency has selected an apartment in the Public Library, to place the collections in for the present, and it is his intention that the Museum should be opened to the Inspection of the Public, at stipulated hours to be hereafter fixed. CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, 10 June 1825. By His Excellency's Command, (Signed) R. PLASKET, Secretary to Government"[453]

Fig.66, Photo of Andrew Smith, the first superitendant of the South African. Source: http://www.s2a3.org.za/bio/Biograph_final.php?serial=1629

Kirby, further records that fifteen days later after establishment of the South African Museum, Smith released his first public notice, inviting the public to contribute collections to the newly founded Museum, "the South African Museum being now open for the reception of objects belonging to all the branches of Natural History, such

[452] Percival R. Kirby, Sir Andrew Smith, M.D., K.C.B.: His Life Letters and Works (Cape Town & Amsterdam: A.A. Balkema, 1965), pp.43-44.
[453] *Ibid.,* p.44.

individuals therefore as may feel an interest in forwarding, by *Donations,* the intention of the said Establishment, are requested to make them whenever they may find it convenient. Those persons who reside near or in Cape Town will be pleased to forward them directly to the Museum, whilst those in the Country can send them to the Landdrost nearest to their place of abode…As not only absolute Instruction, but also considerable Experience, are necessary to enable individuals to prepare and preserve Objects of the Animal Kingdom, in such a manner as to be useful for exhibition, it is therefore particularly desirable that as many living specimens be obtained as is possible."[454]

Smith's very first announcement, gives us a much clearer sense of the curator's interest in the 'objects belonging to all the branches of Natural History', but not only this, it also uncovers what Somerset and Smith had in mind about the mandate of the museum, as an institution whose main task would be to display varieties of the natural history. To establish the original intention for the establishment of the South African museum as a natural history museum is very important for us, especially when we shall later look at how the museum shifted from that mandate and start collecting and displaying human objects and collecting mortal remains of the 'vanquished' communities. This understanding of what constitutes the natural history also hinges on the ideas of when indigenous and native people began to be classified and understood to be part of the natural history 'order' as 'children of nature'. It is also a matter of curiosity to establish as to whether Somerset included indigenous and native people in his description of the

[454] Andrew Smith, in Percival R. Kirby, Sir Andrew Smith, M.D., K.C.B.: His Life Letters and Works (Cape Town & Amsterdam: A.A. Balkema, 1965), pp.44-45.

natural history as it happened to have been the case with 'scientists' at the rise of anthropology as a 'science'.

Sliding back to Kirby, it is only on Friday 8 July of 1825, that Kirby introduces us to the first list of donations that people had donated to the South African Museum and these specimens ranged from quadrupeds, birds, reptiles, various kinds of fish, shells, insects, minerals etc. And "the Gazette of Friday, 12 August, 1825, contained a second list of donations, together with the names of the donors."[455] In addition to this, we also learn from Kirby's account that, "a third list of donations with the names of the donors, appeared in the *Gazette* of Friday, 23 September 1825."[456] And "a fourth list of donations to the Museum was printed in the Gazette of Friday, 4 November 1825."[457] Subsequent to this the fifth and other lists of donations appeared in the following year, 1826. In this passage, Kirby helps us establish yet another important information about the nature of the collections that people had donated to the museum in 1825, the year in which it was established. So not only do we understand 1825 as the year of its establishment, but it also unveils the posture of the collection that was to define the 'museumness' of the South African Museum. This off course is if the museum is defined by the nature of collections is houses.

Whilst the South African Museum was flooded with natural history donations from the inhabitants of the Colony, it is important to also draw our attention to the political climate

[455] Andrew Smith, in Percival R. Kirby, Sir Andrew Smith, M.D., K.C.B.: His Life Letters and Works (Cape Town & Amsterdam: A.A. Balkema, 1965), p.49.
[456] Percival R. Kirby, Sir Andrew Smith, M.D., K.C.B.: His Life Letters and Works (Cape Town & Amsterdam: A.A. Balkema, 1965), p.51.
[457] *Ibid.,* p.54.

in the Cape at this time, in 1825. *The year was also marked with slave uprising of 1825, when "…*Galant [van de Kaap] who was aged 25 at the time led a revolt that consisted of twelve slaves and Khoisan laborers in the Koue Bokkeveld."[458] This was also a period of the expansion of the British empire and "in the 1820s British officials were appointed and English became increasingly used as the official language"[459], to maintain Englishness: its cultural norms, values and institutions such as museums. Considering the politics of the time: the British colonial pride and the need to display power and scientific 'progress', it would be naive of us not to suspect that as the British colonial administrator, soldier and politician, Lord Charles Somerset had established the museum with ambitions to display the advancement of British modernity and the museum was the symbol of that modernizing mission, as Cedras argue "…bringing the European instittution of the museum into Africa, where it was to function as gestalt as a branch of the mother institution."[460] And further allued to the fact that, "this institution's understanding, knowing or demistifying of the objects it acquired was encased within its own prejudices and preconceptions"[461], in other words it drew its intellectual strength and drank from the reservour of its colonial 'mother body', the British Museum.

From the days of its inception, the museum *collection* moved to different locations including the South African National Library which "came into being by Proclamation of

[458] South African History Online, Slave Resistance: Archives, 2017 < http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/slave-resistance> (accessed 27 October 2017)
[459] South African History Online, Slave Resistance: Archives, 2017 < http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/slave-resistance> (accessed 27 October 2017)
[460] Robyn-Leigh Cedras, 'The Halls of History: The Making and Unmaking of the Life-casts at the Ethnography Galleries of the Iziko South African Museum' (Unpublished M Phil thesis, University of Cape Town), p.17.
[461] *Ibid.,* pp.17-18.

the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, dates 20th March 1818"[462] until the "new building [Fig. 67] was begun early in 1895, but was not completed until January, 1896 and the internal fittings and show-cases were not finally installed until January, 1897. The old museum was closed to the public on 19 January, the collections transferred to their new abode during February, and the new museum opened by the Prime Minister, Sir Gordon Sprigg [Fig.70], on Friday, 6th April, 1897"[463], as a scientific institution and display of 'natural production'.

Fig.67, Image of the South African Museum. Ref: Anon, c. 1899. *Picturesque South Africa - An album of Photographic Views*. Cape Town: Dennis Edwards & Co. p 116. Source: http://www.artefacts.co.za/main/Buildings/image_slide.php?type=2&bldgid=224&rank=1

Fig.68, Image of the South African Museum in the late 1940s. Courtsey, The South African Museum. Photography courtesy of the South African Museum

Fig.69, Image of the South African Museum taken on 17 December 2017. Photograph taken by Wandile Kasibe

[462] A.M. Lewin Robinson, The History of the South African Library in The History of the South African Library: Its History, Collections and Librarians 1818 – 1968 (Cape Town, A.A. BALKEMA , 1968), p.1.
[463] *Cecil James Sibbett, The South African Museum Cape Town: 1855-1955 (Cape Town: The South African Museum, 1955), p.3.*

Picton-Seymour, records that, “this building was in fact designed in 1893 by J E Vixseboxse [Fig.71], Government architect for the Orange Free State from 1890-93. His was the winning design in an open competition for a new museum, the exhibits having previously been housed at the South African Library, lower down Queen Victoria Street.”[464] Among the list of building he had designed includes the Albany Museum [Fig.72] in Grahamstown, now Makhanda. It is this same Albany Museum that would later form strong ties through donations and exchange in collections with the South African Museum. In the annals of the South African Museum is located letters that were sent back and forth between officials of these two museums. There also is the list of objects that were donated by the South African Museum to the Albany Museum in 1945. Under the title, “GIFT FROM S.A. MUSEUM TO ALBANY MUSEUM. 12TH DECEMBER, 1945”, we see the detailed list of enthological collections, that varies from arrows, spears, shields, basket, knives, pipe-bowl etc. [Appendix B]. Moreover, we know who the

Fig.70, Portrait photo of the then Prime Minister, Sir Gordon Sprigg: source http://www.s2a3.org.za/bio/Biograph_final.php?serial=1629

Fig.71, The Portrait photograph of Johannes Egbertus Vixseboxse, the architect who won the bid to design the South African Museum building in 1893. Source: http://www.artefacts.co.za/main/Buildings/archframes.php?archid=1795

[464] Picton-Seymour, Iziko South African Museum, http://www.artefacts.co.za/main/Buildings/bldgframes.php?bldgid=224 (accessed 16 December 2017).

donors are, the locations where the objects were collected from, the years and the 'tribes'.

Fig.72, Postcard Image of the Albany Museum just a few years after its completion. This Scanned image was provided by Fleur Way-Jones, Curator Emeritus: History Museum at the Albany Museum Complex, Grahamstown. Ref: 3572. Image submitted by William Martinson. Source: http://www.artefacts.co.za/main/Buildings/archframes.php?archid=1795

Moving back to the South African Museum, we gather in Patricia Davison's account that, "the records of SAM reflect an early interest in Bushman origins and material culture. In the 1830s, Dr Andrew Smith, the first curator, collected 'Bosjeman' bows and arrows but these, together with the rest of his ethnographic collection, were eventually

sold in London to defray the costs of his expeditions."[465] Based on the records of 1825, we could safely argue that the South African Museum did not have any collection that would be classified as ethnographic when it started accepting donations from the public in 1825 and the following years. This assertion sharply contradicts Davison's argument who further argues that, *"since its* inception in 1825, the South African Museum has been associated with an anthropological interest in the people widely known as 'Bushmen' and 'Hottentots'"[466]. The main reason to differ with her statement is that, in 1825 the records show that, the museum only received natural history specimens from those who donated to it, and only in the 1830s that anthropological and ethnographic material would have made it into the museum. It is also important to note that whilst most of the objects were donated to the museum, the indigenous people's artefacts were not donated by the indigenous people themselves but arrived into the collection through Smith's frontier interaction with the indigenous people of Southern Africa. This observation creates a distinction between who donated and whose artefacts were either taken by force or through coercion.

If Davison's account is anything to go by, I must reiterate the fact that it is only in the 1830s through Smith's anthropological interaction with indigenous communities in the in land that we begin to see the museum's interest in the ethnographic material of the indigenous people, something that suggest to me that, the collection of anthropological

[465] Patricia Davison, Typecast: Representation of the Bushmen at the South African Museum (Public Archaeology) 2001 Volume 1, p. 15. https://www.academia.edu/24078889/Typecast_Representations_of_the_Bushmen_at_the_South_African_Museum

[466] Patricia Davison, Human Subjects as Museum objects: A Project to Make Life-Casts of 'Bushmen' and Hottentots 1907-1924 Volume 102 Part 5 (Cape Town: South African Museum, The Rustica Press, 1993), p.166.

material was not the main focus of the museum when it was establish in 1825. And that interest only came much later with Smith's collection in the 1830s. Whether this came as an afterthought without considering the museological context into which such material would be displayed is a matter that has not been extensively examined.

There are indications to give us reasons to believe that Smith and his contemporaries saw the San and other native people he had subjected to the colonial gaze as inferior, perhaps a little lower than themselves and this may crystalize the reason why they collected their objects for purposes of the display of power in the museum. Apart from the exoticization of the material culture of the natives, another likelihood is for Lord Somerset and Smith, 'Natural History' may also meant inclusion of the native's objects into the natural history spectacle that the museum sought to display. I link this presupposition to the claim that their (San & native peoples) material culture was later in the life of the South African Museum the native were grouped in the natural wing of the institution to make that connection between them and the 'natural production' much more apparent.

It is only through Edgar Leopold Layard's [Fig.73] "Catalogue of the Specimens in the Collections of the South African Museum: Part 1, the Mammalia" [Appendix C], compiled in 1861, the year he accompanied Sir George Grey "to New Zealand as his private secretary"[467] that we get introduced to skeletal remains of different races. Under the heading "ORDER No.1 – BIMANA" [Appendix D] and subheading "Homo Sapiens –

[467] Cape of Good Hope Annexures to the Votes and Procedings of the Legislative Council 1863, Report of the Trustee of the South African Museum: Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of His Excellency April, 1863. Printed by order of Goverenment, p.1.

Man"[468], he records that under Caucasian Race, "skeleton of French officer who fought and fell at Wagram. Presented by A. Jenkel, Esq. Skeleton of Fetus (Hollander). Presented by J. Wilson, Esq. Cranium of Patrick Ryan (Irishman), murderer. Presented by C.A. Fairbridge, Esq. Cranium from the graves of the 'Waterloo', probably that of an English convict."[469]

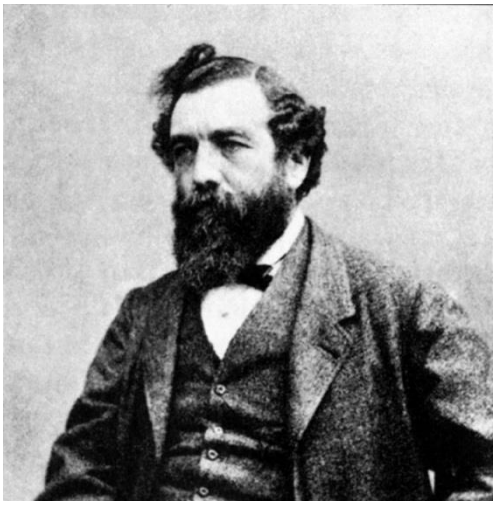


Fig.73 Portrait Photo of Edgar Leopold Layard, one of the curators of the South African Museum after the re-establishment of the Museum in 1855.

Under the Mongolian Race, he records, "Cranium of Chinaman who died in Somerset Hospital. Presented by Dr. Bickersteth."[470] And under the 'Ethiopian or Negro Race', he records that, "Cranium of Gaika Kafir, named Tengello, an attendant of the Kafir Chief Kona, son of Macomo, son of Jaika. He was killed on the 21st January, 1851, while engaged in an attack made upon Alice and Forth Hare by Sandili, the Great Chief of the Gaikas with 3000 warriors. His age was about twenty-five years old."[471] He goes further to record, "Cranium of Damara warrior. Cranium of the Bushman from the Botletle River, Presented by Dr. Holden. Cranium of very aged Mocambicer skave, probably from East Coast of Africa, if not Cape born. Crania, unknown. Presented by

[468] Edgar L. Layard, Catalogue of the Specimens in the Collection of the South African Museum: Part I, The Mammalia (Cape Town: Saul Solomons & Co., Steam Printing Office, 1861), p.8.
[469] Edgar L. Layard, Catalogue of the Specimens in the Collection of the South African Museum: Part I, The Mammalia (Cape Town: Saul Solomons & Co., Steam Printing Office, 1861), p.8.
[470] *Ibid.,* p.8.
[471] *Ibid.,* p.9.

G.H. Heise, Esq. Cranium, dissected, Presented by Dr. Bickersteth. Leather made from human skin. Presented by C.A. Fairbridge, Esq."[472]

The head of an attendant to the eldest son of chief Maqoma, is linked to one of the fierce and biggest frontier wars that took place between the English and the amaXhosa in the Eastern Cape. Tim Stapleton records that, "on the morning of 21 January 1851, Sandile led some two thousand to three thousand Xhosa warriors, including a large mounted detachment, in an attack on Fort Hare, the closest British post to his Amatola stronghold. The Xhosa advanced toward the fort as a diversion, their real goal being the capture of the five thousand cattle, mostly owned by Fingo, grazing in the area. As the Xhosa infantry moved on the fort, their cavalry swept around the flank to cut off and seize that cattle"[473]

Apart from the fact that, there was a battle that took place on 21 January 1851, what we passages reveal to us is the reality that, the "Cranium of Gaika Kafir, named Tengello, an attendant of the Kafir Chief Kona, son of Macomo, son of Jaika", the head was taken from this battle field, now it lies in the shelves of the South Africa Museum. This is but one example among many other examples of crania being acquired in this way.

In these passages Layard also reveals to us the diversity of the collection in which is included the details about the human skulls and the circumstances under which they

[472] Edgar L. Layard, Catalogue of the Specimens in the Collection of the South African Museum: Part I, The Mammalia (Cape Town: Saul Solomons & Co., Steam Printing Office, 1861), p.9.
[473] H. Somerset to Sir. H. Smith, Fort Hare, 22 January 1851, BPP, 1851 (1334) (1352) (1380), p.127 in Soldiers and Settlers in Africa, 1850 – 1918 ed by Stephen M. Miller Kelly DeVries etal (volume 56) (Leiden & Boston: BRILL, 2009), p.28.

were collected and for what purpose. Based on Layard's account, we could safely argue that thirty-six years after its formation in 1825, the South African Museum later introduced human remains in its collections for purposes no different from that of 'science' and comparative anatomy to further understand evolutionary theories. For he (Layard) further notes in the catalogue, "at the head of the Mammalia, man stands forth preeminent. He belongs to the order of *Bimana* of Cuvier, - according to Dr. Gray a distinct family Hominidae."[474]

Based on Layard's catalogue, I argue that as far back as 1861 the museum had already embroiled itself in the processes of human classification and race discourses. What is even more apparent is to observe is the fact that in his hierarchy, Layard begins his order by putting the Caucasian race at the top of his list to suggest the accepted standardization of whiteness and its privileged position in the societal strata. In so doing he introduces us wittingly so to the socio-scientific mentality of his time, that the Caucasian race is the 'standard' by which other races such as the "Mongolian race, Ethiopian or Negro race"[475] must be measured. Layard's logic is captured with precision by Rikke Andreassen when he observes that, "human history and development were viewed as a progression, with the white male on top of the hierarchy, representing the highest stage of civilization. All other races were nicely ordered below, each representing different levels of culture and development."[476]

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[474] Edgar L. Layard, Catalogue of the Specimens in the Collection of the South African Museum: Part I, The Mammalia (Cape Town: Saul Solomons & Co., Steam Printing Office, 1861), p.9.
[475] Edgar L. Layard, Catalogue of the Specimens in the Collection of the South African Museum: Part I, The Mammalia (Cape Town: Saul Solomons & Co., Steam Printing Office, 1861), p.8.
[476] Rikke Andreassen, Danish Perceptions of Race and Anthropological Science at the Turn of the Twentieth Century in The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representation (eds) by Nicolas Bancel et al, (New York, Routledge, 2014), p.119.

Apart from its detailed account, Layard's catalogue reveal to us yet another compelling 'truth', that Layard clearly was the product of his time, inspired by Lamarckian and Cuvieran systems of classification, it is thus proper to foreground an observation that this stricture can be seen to be only directed at him, but also to the mentalities that inspired his thought processes. Another thing that is happening here is the realization that by framing his collections in this way Layard uncovers to us today, the genesis of the sociology of race thinking, research and pseudo race science in the early years of South African Museum. What remains a disturbing feature though, is to ascertain the fact that some of these remains such as the mentioned "cranium of Gaika Kafir, named Tengello…"[477] are remains of ancestors whose descendants and communities can be identified today. The catalogue also mentions C.A Fairbridge's donation of a "leather made from human skin"[478], but what the catalogue fails to mention is the detail pertaining to the identity of the person from whom the skin was removed from body or where Fairbridge got the human skin from. In the absence of this important detail, we can speculate that, this human skin must have been pilled off one of the races located at the bottom of the human ladder. Fairbridge "(member of the Cape parliament, ardent book collector and played a leading role in the founding of the South African Museum)"[479], would likely have purchased leather skin or received it from someone else as a donation.

[477] Edgar L. Layard, Catalogue of the Specimens in the Collection of the South African Museum: Part I, The Mammalia (Cape Town: Saul Solomons & Co., Steam Printing Office, 1861), p.8.
[478] *Ibid.,* p.9.
[479] ELP STALS, The Commissions of the W.C. Palgraves: Special Emissary to South West Africa 1876-1885 (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1991), p.172.

The gravity and the implication of both terms 'science and research' cannot be taken lightly, more especially when we deal with the sensitivities around how indigenous and native people were subjected to all forms of racial 'science' and research. To fully comprehend the controversial meaning of the term science when applied in the human 'subject', we turn to Linda Tuhiwai Smith, who argues that, "…the term 'research' is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism. The word itself, 'research', is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous word's vocabulary. When mentioned in many indigenous contexts, it stirs up silence, it conjures up bad memories, it raises a smile that is knowing and distrustful."[480]

In her postulation, Smith brings to our attention the fact that it was in the name of 'research and science' that indigenous people have suffered the most gruesome and systematic race crimes targeted at them from as early as the nineteenth century to date. In her erudition, she goes further to argue that "the ways in which scientific research is implicated in the worst excesses of colonialism remains a powerful remembered history for many of the world's colonized peoples. It is a history that still offends the deepest sense of our humanity."[481] And in no uncertain terms, it confronts the colonized people to look into the 'conscience of their soul' to remember as Arthus Saunders Thompsom records that, "…someone measured our 'faculties' by filling the skulls of our ancestors with millet seeds and compared the amount of millet seed to the capacity for mental

[480] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples (London & New York: University of Otago Press, 1999), p.1.
[481] *Ibid*

thought offends our sense of who and what we are."[482] Further to this, it helps us reason as to how indigenous and native people were over time understood to be part of nature, thus subjected to the 'scientific research' of the natural world at whose 'epicentre' was located the museum of Natural History. It is on the basis of this nefarious connotation that we look at research through Smith's lens "…as a significant site of struggle between the interests and ways of knowing of the West and the interests and ways of knowing of the Other."[483]

It is in the context of this dichotomous contradiction between the 'self' and 'other', that Smith locates the critique against colonialism "within the wider framework of self-determination, decolonization and social justice."[484] In this instance the 'other' becomes the indigenous and native peoples who in the context of South Africa's race politics become the most researched group and experimented on under colonialism and later apartheid. As Maarten Couttenier argues, "the assumed primitive nature of the "other" led at the same time to the development of a positive self-image of contemporary, male, white, bourgeois culture"[485] And "three questions preoccupied the research at the time: what is a 'real' or 'pure' Bushman? What is the position of the 'real' Bushmen in the anthropological or evolutionary scheme? What is the relationship of Bushmen to other

[482] Arthus Saunders Thompsom, The Story on New Zealand. Past and Present – Savage and Civilised in Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples (London & New York: University of Otago Press, 1999), p.1.
[483] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples (London & New York: University of Otago Press, 1999), p.2.
[484] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples (London & New York: University of Otago Press, 1999), p.4.
[485] Maarten Couttenier, We Cant Help Laughing: Physical Anthropology in Belgium and Congo (1882-1914) in The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representation (eds) by Nicolas Bancel et al, (New York, Routledge, 2014), p.100

'races'?"[486] Informed by the 'science' of the time, these questions and others similar to these created intersecting paradigms that made it possible for the settler communities to despise the Bushmen and their descendants as 'living objects' of study.

This European approach to African 'subjects' created two eventualities and systems of thought: one was the idea that the Bushmen were beyond civilization, thus unsalvageable. Their place was located in museums as 'primitive' bodies that provided white Europeans a window into studying the human origins and evolutionary transition into modernity. Whist this was done in comparative ways with Europe, it was also perfected to locate the Bushmen as 'subjects' incompatible with modernity, meaning that they be frozen in a specific unchanging time line as 'living' relics of the past.

It is in the intersection between these two eventualities that we undertake a reflective and rigorous intellectual archaeology of the very anatomy of power and philosophy that underpinned the founding of the South African Museum. It foregrounds a paradigm that presents a way of knowing in which the knower and the recipient of that knowledge are in constant dialogue about the place and role of museums as 'heterotopias'[487] and sites of historical 'truth' and justice. But to acknowledge that truth and justice we first need to go beneath the veil and begin to uncover the atrocities and crimes that were committed in the name of 'science' and research specifically in the South African Museum and the

[486] Ute Dieckemann & Gertrud Boden, The San Images and Identities: National Museum of Namibia (Namibia: The National Museum of Namibia, 2010), p.11.
[487] See Michel Foucault, Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias in Architecture /Mouvement/Continuité, October 1984, http://web.mit.edu/allanmc/www/foucault1.pdf (accessed 30 May 2017)

'Bushmen' diorama constitutes a remnant of that 'colonial crime scene' that requires a critical 'decolonial' engagement, I argue.

As a 'living space' or what Michel Foucault would call a 'heterotopia', a locus with bodies passing through to decode its palimpsest in an effort to create continuous transitions and intersections that mark the passing of time, we shall argue that through exhibition the museum became the site of contestation "in which time never stops building up and topping its own summit…"[488] In these museum exhibits people are frozen in time.

As we acquiesce to the historical baggage contained in these living spaces, the horrors manufactured within the white walls and laboratories of the Natural History Museum, we do so with the complete sense as Smith argues that these living spaces "have also become spaces of resistance and hope."[489] But it is hope that only comes through digging into the deeper dungeons of the heinous crimes that remain a disturbing and divisive blight that continue to eat away the fibre of our society. As Smith outlines, its divisive in the sense that, "it angers us when practices linked to the last century, and the centuries before that, are still employed to deny the validity of indigenous people's claim to existence, to land and territories, to the right of self-determination, to the survival of

[488] Michel Foucault, Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias in Architecture /Mouvement/Continuité, October 1984, http://web.mit.edu/allanmc/www/foucault1.pdf (accessed 30 May 2017)
[489] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples (London & New York: University of Otago Press, 1999), p.4.

our languages and forms of cultural knowledge, to our natural resources and system of living within our environments."[490]

It further aggravates because of the manner in which "this collective memory of imperialism has been perpetuated through the ways in which knowledge about indigenous peoples was collected, classified and then represented in various ways back to the West, and then, through the eyes of the West, back to those who have been colonized"[491], both through discourses and material culture. It is therefore against this backdrop that, both terms science and research mean something sinister when illusively applied in the context of indigenous and native peoples. In trying to locate the gravity of their meaning and implication, it is important to focus specifically on the Natural History Museum because of its controversial history of collecting and undertaking of the human casting project for purposes of race 'science' as we have briefly alluded here.

The 'Bushmen' diorama requires a special attention, as it provides a vital point of departure into understanding the underpinning politics of representation and misrepresentation in museums today. Further to this, as Davison argues it helps us see how "science and museums were complicit in shaping the range of related but shifting stereotypes that have been attached to the people generally called Bushmen."[492] And more so as Eilean Hooper-Greenhill adds it reveals "the result of powerful activities

[490] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples (London & New York: University of Otago Press, 1999), p.1.
[491] *Ibid.,* pp.1-2.
[492] Patricia Davison, Typecast: Representation of the Bushmen at the South African Museum (Public Archaeology) 2001 Volume 1, p.4.
https://www.academia.edu/24078889/Typecast_Representations_of_the_Bushmen_at_the_South_African_Museum

which are informed by ideas about what is significant and what is not."[493] Another layer to this argument is the white patriarchal supremacists system that supports and maintains this racial research. In the period between 1825 from the colonial era when the museum was established and 1994 when South Africa was ushered into democracy, the South African Museum was dominated by men. The evidence of this fact can be seen in the timeline [Appendix E] that illustrates the detailed information about the persons who were involved in the running of the institution until recently.

Both in historical and contemporary context, it matters most where things and human 'subjects' are displayed in museums. In the same way that, the shape of a skull, nose and other anatomical features were used as markers to determine the place of the colonial 'subjects' in the bigger scheme of things, museums also played with this logic. The more indigenous, native you were the closer you were located within the circumference of the animal kingdom to feed to the idea of the 'missing link'. Both in sociological and museological terms it makes a huge difference where objects and human 'subjects' are exhibited, because where you are exhibited and the manner in which you are exhibited reveals your perceived place in society and in this context the colonists treated indigenous people with disdain. The mounting of the 'Bushmen' diorama came from this long tradition of seeing indigenous people as 'primitive' 'lesser' beings who belonged in the museum.

In the next section I will be discussing the 'Bushman' diorama exhibit in detail.

[493] Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture* (USA & Canada: Routledge, 2000), p.3.

3.1.2 THE SOUTH AFRICAN MUSEUM'S 'BUSHMAN' DIORAMA AND THE UNSETTLING POLITICS OF DISPLAY

"Skulls, skeletons, and plaster casts were indeed the museum 'alternatives' to the objectification and dehumanisation involved in the display of live Bushmen."[494]

"For biologists have conclusively shown that civilization is fundamentally conditioned by a superior quality of race…"[495]

"One of the most disturbing legacies that urgently needs to be addressed in the 'decolonisation' of museum collections is that many contain human remains."[496]

In South Africa, the museological practice of displaying indigenous and native peoples in Natural History museums that were established for the depiction of animals is longstanding, and its practice remains intact in those museums today and one of those museums is the South African Museum (SAM). As an institution that represents imperial ideas of the dominant culture, I argue here that SAM has over many decades continued and still is a citadel from which the colonial empire buttresses its divisive epistemology. It stands as a fortress behind which the pathology of race 'science' still looms, concealed and maintained through colonial practices and methods of research, classification and numbering. The early records of the South African Museum's human

[494] Martin Legassick & Ciraj Rassol, Skeletons in the Cupboard: South African museums and the trade in human remains 1907-1917 (Cape Town: South African Museum, 2000), p.5.
[495] Austine L. Weddell, The Makers of Civilizations in Race & History (London: Luzac & CO, 1909), p.vi.
[496] Jeremy Silvester, Report on the Human Remains Management and Repatriation Workshop, 13th – 14th February, 2017. 10th May 2017 p.3.

remains ‘collection’, the body casting project which led to the ‘Bushman’ diorama exhibits in the 60s are few among many other examples that demonstrate the intersecting ideas of power and dominance from which the nexus that underpins the linear and stereotypical narratives that essentialize colonial epistemology as the kind of ‘absolute truth’ was drawn.

According to Hamish Robertson, “the bushman diorama in the South African Museum was set up in 1959/60 by Anne Schweizer, Charlie Thorne and Clive Booth, under the guidance of Miss E.M. Shaw. The diorama showing the Fish Hoek/Noordhoek background (painted by Jackie Truman-Baker) was completed a few years later. The main Ethnography Gallery was installed in the 1960’s and early 1970’s; ethnologists involved were E.M. Shaw, H.P. Steyn and P.J. Davison. The exhibition team included Mr Miszewski (architect), Mrs Luckhoff, John Kramer and Aubrey Byron.”[497]

The ethics and political circumstances under which this diorama was assembled is what remains the disturbing blight in the unfolding museo-political arena in South Africa, for as Robertson states, “the bushman diorama include casts of real people, obtained under circumstances where they had little choice but to be cast (e.g. cast were made of prisoners of bushman descent in the Breakwater Jail).”[498] And furthermore “the casts were made of all parts of the body so were a great invasion of privacy. They were used to create these historical dioramas that bore little relation to the bushmen in their

[497] Hamish Robertson, Motivation for de-intsallation of the Ethnography Hall and associated dioramas in the Iziko South African Museum (unpublished) 27 April 2017
[498] Hamish Robertson, Motivation for de-intsallation of the Ethnography Hall and associated dioramas in the Iziko South African Museum (unpublished) 27 April 2017

circumstances at the time of casting. They were portrayed as people nature, stuck in a historical timeframe."[499] This is an essentializing colonial 'truth' that in the long centuries and decades of colonialism and apartheid has successfully erased other 'truths' from the 'vanquished' races in order to exalt white bodies as the only bearers of civilizational 'truth'. Further to this, I also argue here that with all its multi-layered meanings of what it means to subjugate and manipulate narrative about the 'other", through its 'pedagogic meaning-making'[500], the 'Bushman' diorama distinguished itself as a colonial dogma whose pontification sought to re-affirm the 'superiority' of the whites as bodies of absolute thought and meaning.

To crystalize this point we turn to Patricia Davison who argues that, "the underlying assumption was that 'Bushmen' and 'Hottentots' were living examples of a primitive and dying race that should be studied before it became extinct"[501], thus located in a different paradigm, apart from people. In addition, she highlights the point that, "uncertainty about the racial typology of Khoisan people motivated the drive by museums in South Africa to acquire skeletal specimens for morphological analysis in Europe."[502] It is this morphological analysis and appetite to study the 'other', that Ciraj Rassol argues was part of a bigger racialization process, when he states that, "the casts, produced as racial

[499] Hamish Robertson, Motivation for de-intsallation of the Ethnography Hall and associated dioramas in the Iziko South African Museum (unpublished) 27 April 2017
[500] Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture* (USA & Canada: Routledge, 2000), p.1.
[501] Patricia Davison, Foreword in Martin Legassick & Ciraj Rassol, Skeletons in the Cupboard: South African museums and the trade in human remains 1907-1917 (Cape Town: South African Museum, 2000), p.v.
[502] *Ibid*

studies in the early twentieth century…"[503] This finds expression in Ute Dieckmann account that, "at the beginning of the 20th century, plaster casts became very popular in displays in Museums of Natural History. They were considered to represent true and pure images of reality."[504] In South Africa, "physical anthropologists of the time were concerned with racial origins, race typology and evolutionary difference which played a significant role for the production and display of plaster casts."[505]

As already established in Ute Dieckemann and Gertrud Boden's account that "in the early 20th century, scientific racism was the prominent paradigm in 'Bushman' research. The concept of 'race' combined physical and mental criteria and became much more (pseudo -) biologically elaborated than before."[506] And that "physical anthropological studies were undertaken in a race for investigating the origin and history of mankind."[507] In her account, *Material culture, context and meaning*, Davison brings this argument closer, when she records that, "academic anthropology was established in South Africa in the 1920s with a composite intellectual foundation influenced in part by the ideas of Radcliffe-Brown and Maslinowski, and in part by the romantic tradition in German volkerkunde (West 1979; Sharp 1981; Kuper 1987; Gordon 1988)."[508]

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[503] Ciraj Rassool, Human Remains, the Disciplines of the Dead, and the South African Memorial Complex in Derek R. Petersen etal, The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, Histories, and Infrastructure (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p.146.
[504] Ute Dieckemann & Gertrud Boden, The San Images and Identities: National Museum of Namibia (Namibia: The National Museum of Namibia, 2010), p.13.
[505] *Ibid.,* p.13.
[506] *Ibid.,* p.11.
[507] *Ibid.,* p.11.
[508] Patricia Davison, Material culture, context and meaning: A critical investigation of museum practice, with particular reference to the South African Museum (thesis), pp.18-19.

This presupposition finds expression in Cedras' observation when she states that, "the discipline of anthropology, along with its concern with ethnology, appears to have arisen from the popular study of race classification, as an answer to the development of Western Europe's 'modern man'"[509] Anthropology as a field of 'scientific' enquiry, with methods built on narrow colonial mentalities of the studying the life of the Natives, became what Malinowski calls "…the spokesman not only of the Native point of view, but also of native interest and grievances"[510] It "…regarded the tribal Native as the only phenomenon of study…"[511] and "to those chiefly responsible for legislation and administration it appears as the orthodox school, with the right to monopolize the 'term' 'scientific'"[512] But as the 'subject' of that anthropological study, the Native had no 'voice' of his/her own, but his/her voice was filtered through the anthropological gaze and observation. Based on these subjective observations, conjured to corroborate the broader and grandeur 'scientific truth' about the 'lesserness' of the natives, legislations would be passed to control the mobility and their (natives) ways of being.

This sentiment is partially captured by Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown, who is quoted by Schapera as having observed that, "every day the customs of the native tribes are being altered, by the action of the legislature and the administration, by the action of our economic system, through the teaching of missionaries and educators, and through contact with ourselves in innumerable ways; but we hardly have the vagues ideas as to

[509] Robyn-Leigh Cedras, 'The Halls of History: The Making and Unmaking of the Life-casts at the Ethnography Galleries of the Iziko South African Museum' (Unpublished M Phil thesis, University of Cape Town), p.18.
[510] Malinowski in Isaac Schapera, Anthroplogy and the Native Problem (manuscript) C3.70, p.12.
[511] Brooks in Isaac Schapera, Anthroplogy and the Native Problem (manuscript) C3.70, p.13.
[512] *Ibid.,* p.13.

what will be the final results of these changes, upon the natives and upon ourselves."[513] As traffickers of information and to some extent, agents of the state, anthropologists fed into the governing system intelligence through which certain perceptions about the natives were created. To this effect, Radcliffe-Brown, further states that, "we are acquiring a mass of concrete information telling us how far the people have succeded in adjusting themselves to the new conditions under which they are living, whether they are contended or dissatisfied, how their health and general well-being have been affected, what they think of the various European agencies impinging upon their life, and what sort of civilization they are tending to develop."[514]

In making references to other African countries, where anthropologists were employed by the state to further enhance those adminitrations, Schapera records that, "in other parts of Africa, notable Nigeria, the Gold Coast, the Sudan, and Tanganyika, the administrations concerned, recognizing the value of anthropological inquiry, have apointed special Government anthropologists whose full-time occupation it is to carry out investigations on those aspects of Native life falling within the sphere of administrative concern."[515] And he further records that, "this lead was followed by the the Union Government, which in 1925 created an Ethnological section of the Native Affairs Department, 'firstly' with a view to promoting scientific investigation and research into the Bantu ethnology, sociology, philology, and anthropology."[516]

[513] Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown in Isaac Schapera, Anthroplogy and the Native Problem (manuscript) C3.70, p.8.
[514] Isaac Schapera, Anthroplogy and the Native Problem (manuscript) C3.70, p.8.
[515] *Ibid.,* p.16.
[516] *Ibid.,* pp.16-17.

In these extracts, both Schapera, Brooks and Radcliffe-Brown help us see the role of anthropological prism in creating certain perceptions and image about the natives as bodies that could be spoken on behalf of and manipulated at will in the 'civilizational' processes of conqure underpinned by 'science'. Alice L. Conklin advances this line of reasoning when she states that, "racial science, according to conventional wisdom, was an embarrassing 'error', on its way out after 1900, and socio-cultural anthropology took off immediately after World War II. From this vantage point, the years in between saw only institutional, not new theories or methods – or none worth remembering. Among these new theories were certain cultural-racist ones that today are as discomfiting as those of racial science."[517] Conklin's presupposition helps us understand the fact that in the country such as South Africa this practice of racial science 'research', the application of its theoretical framework and cultural anthropologization of exhibitions can be traced back to the very founding purpose of the development of the South African Museum (SAM) from past to now

It is this ideological and philosophical foundation about which Cecil James Sibbett states, "the museum was fortunate in having trustees who from its foundation…realised the importance of the museum in their charge as a place of recreation and instruction for the inhabitants of our country and as a centre for scientific research on the natural productions of South Africa."[518] As Cedras argues, "the language of the South African

[517] Alice L. Conklin, In the Museum of Man: Anthropology, Racial Science, and Humanism in France and Its Empire, 1850-1950 (draft) https://history.osu.edu/sites/history.osu.edu/files/Conklin-Intro%20Oct.%209[1].pdf (accessed 27 October 2017)
[518] *Cecil James Sibbett, Foreword, The South African Museum Cape Town: 1855-1955 (Cape Town: The South African Museum, 1955)*

Museum is laid bare in the language of the institution, captured in official documents."[519] She goes further to quote Edgar Layard, who is quoted by Annie E. Coombes as having referred to museum's ethnographic collections as "wonderful specimens of savage ingenuity."[520]

Following the Linneaan, Lamarkian and Cuvian systems of classification, the museum built its epistemological foundation with roots in Enlightenment era, "the notion that knowledge of the world should be advanced through science and reason to reach universal truths is linked to ninenteenth-century preoccupations with progress and expansion"[521], to corroborate *Sibbett's notion of scientific research.*

Dieckemann and Boden observe that these "…casts were particularly attractive because they were considered to document a vanishing race. Plaster casts were to document racial purity and reality."[522] This observation finds expression in Rikke Andreassen who also submits that these casts and other forms of 'scientific' spectacle, "…interested European anthropologists because they believed that each group of people, each race, had developed differently. Different people were seen as representing different stages of human development and could therefore provide understandings of how white Europeans might have appeared at earlier stages of their

[519] Robyn-Leigh Cedras, 'The Halls of History: The Making and Unmaking of the Life-casts at the Ethnography Galleries of the Iziko South African Museum' (Unpublished M Phil thesis, University of Cape Town), p.19.
[520] Edgar Layard in Annie E. Coombes, History After Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), p.214.
[521] Robyn-Leigh Cedras, 'The Halls of History: The Making and Unmaking of the Life-casts at the Ethnography Galleries of the Iziko South African Museum' (Unpublished M Phil thesis, University of Cape Town), p.19.
[522] Ute Dieckemann & Gertrud Boden, The San Images and Identities: National Museum of Namibia (Namibia: The National Museum of Namibia, 2010), p.13.

development."[523] To Rassool the discomfort is not only based of the fact that these are human casts, but it is also the place where these cast are housed and displayed. Because he further observes that, "…they remain under the purview of science, but sat uncomfortably between archaeology, social history, and natural history in the separate storage space as 'sensitive collections' in a manner that 'showed respect for the dead and accorded with the wishes of descendant communities'"[524] But what do these casts and ancestral bones that are in the storage vaults of the Natural History Museum tell us about the history of the people and circumstances under which they were obtained?

It is in the context of the challenge posed by the presence of this anthropological material in the Natural History Museum that bigger questions about what Morris calls the "essence of humanity"[525] and the understanding of Bushmen as 'primitive' people were understood to be carrying genetic coding "…to provide a view into a deep human past."[526] This human past was off course the European and Western past, for Rikke Andreassen quotes Johan Waldemar Dreyer as having argued in 1898 that, "more knowledge about the people of nature is important because we, through them, can acquire a deeper insight…into our own people's history of development . . . Their lives and mentality provide us. . . with mirror images of the stages of development that our

[523] Rikke Andreassen, Danish Perceptions of Race and Anthropological Science at the Turn of the Twentieth Century in The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representation (eds) by Nicolas Bancel et al, (New York, Routledge, 2014), p.120.
[524] Ciraj Rassool, Human Remains, the Disciplines of the Dead, and the South African Memorial Complex in Derek R. Petersen etal, The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, Histories, and Infrastructure (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p.146.
[525] Alan G. Morris, Trophy Skulls, Museums and the San in Pippa Skotnes (ed.), Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen (Cape Town: Cape Town University Press, 1996), p.68.
[526] Pippa Skotnes (ed.), Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen (Cape Town: Cape Town University Press, 1996), p.17.

own ancestors have been going through. (Dreyer 1898, 2)"[527] It is this observation that Morris elucidates on when he states that Europeans "…needed first to understand the foreign 'primitives' before they could enquire about their own honoured European ancestors."[528]

In other words, European scientists saw the 'primitive' races as mirrors into the 'missing link' of an unknown human past that had to be studied and as the only living and closest 'relatives' that carry that genetic coding that was perceived to provide wealth of information about human evolution, their bodies had to be sacrificed at the alter of 'science'. Meaning that much of what we have witnessed in race 'scientific' studies and construction through exhibitionary complex has been about Europe trying to understand itself, its loss of identity and origin. It's Europe trying to connect back to humanity but it achieved this through exploiting people of darker races.

According to Legassick and Rassool, the motivation to collect human remains for anthropological research came as an outcome of the 1905 British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS) conference held in South Africa. It was at this conference that, Alfred Cort Haddon [Fig.74] "the first anthropologist in Britain to hold a university readership at Cambridge…[who] in

Fig.74 Photo of Alfred Cort Haddon. the first anthropologist in Britain to hold a university readership at Cambridge. Source: https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Author:Alfred_Cort_Haddon

[527] Rikke Andreassen, Danish Perceptions of Race and Anthropological Science at the Turn of the Twentieth Century in The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representation (eds) by Nicolas Bancel et al, (New York, Routledge, 2014), p.120.
[528] Alan G. Morris, Trophy Skulls, Museums and the San in Pippa Skotnes (ed.), Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen (Cape Town: Cape Town University Press, 1996), p.68.

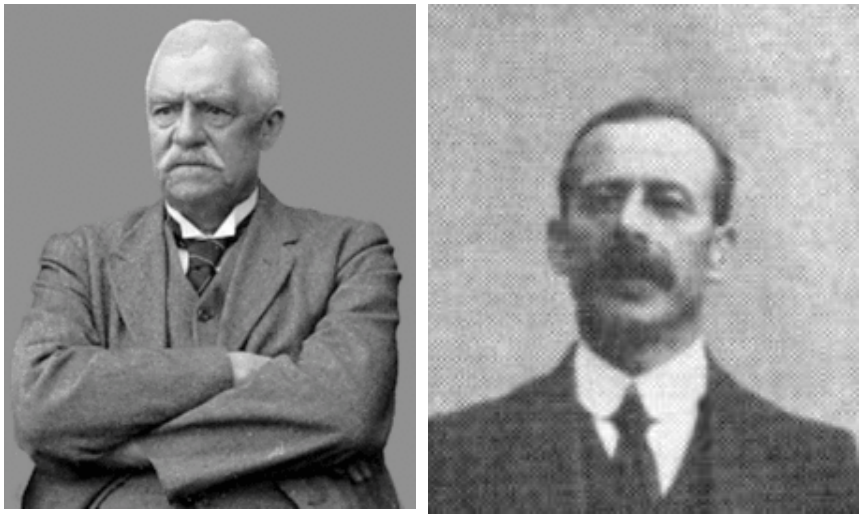
1898 had published a popular book on *The Study of Man*,…[stressed] the importance of racial measurement and classification…[and further] called for an accurate account of the natives of South Africa…for scientific use, and as a historical record…before the advance of civilisation began to obscure and obliterate all true traditions, customs, and habits of the South African peoples."[529]

He also "concluded by stressing the importance of investigating the Bushmen and Hottentots, who represented "'very primitive varieties of mankind' and who were 'rapidly diminishing' in number. The 'memory of these primitive folk' needed to be saved 'from oblivion'. He emphasised the need for reliable anthropometric data."[530] And a year later in 1906 after the 1905 BAAS conference, the South African Museum under the then directorship of Louis Albert *Péringuey* [Fig.75] and taxidermist James Drury [Fig.76] started on a life size casts project [Fig.77, Fig.78, Fig.79, Fig.80 & Fig.81] of indigenous peoples at the South African Museum, "which included the collection of human remains, whole skeletons and skulls for cranial research."[531] A much more elaborate list can be view in Patricia Davison's as detailed in Appendix F.

Péringuey*'s* idea was as Davision suggests "…aimed at making an accurate physical record of members of the few remaining groups of 'pure-bred' Bushmen and

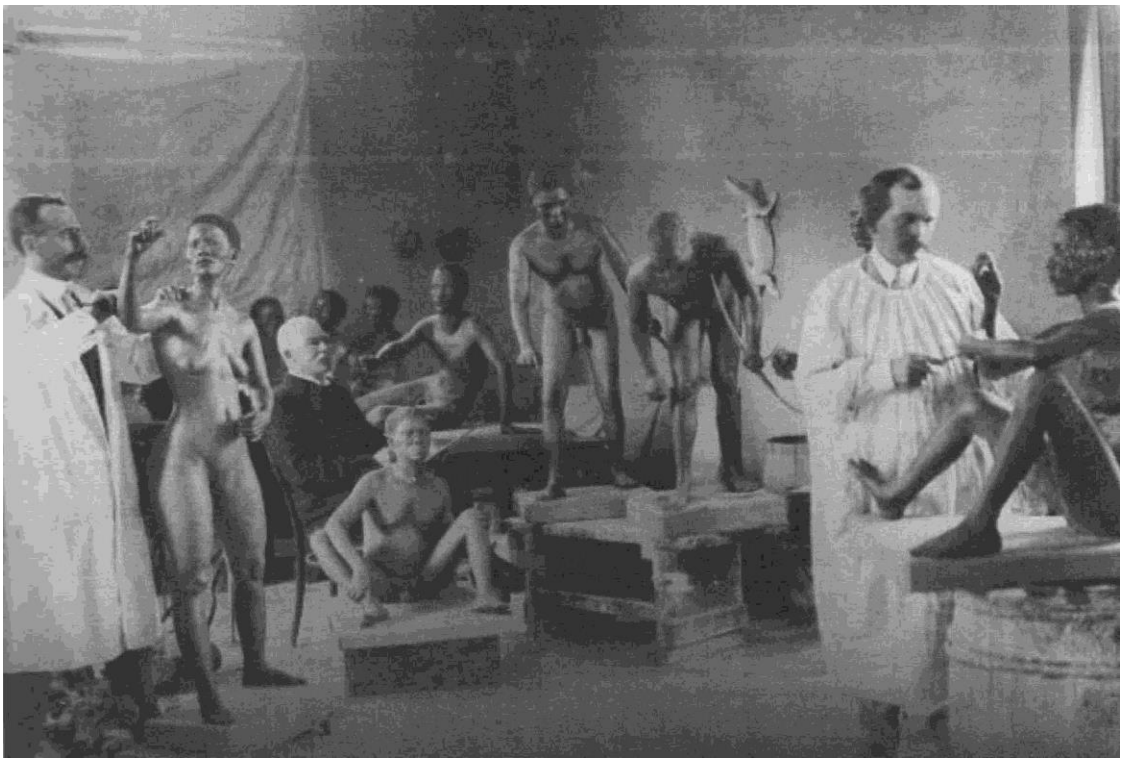
[529] Martin Legassick & Ciraj Rassol, Skeletons in the Cupboard: South African museums and the trade in human remains 1907-1917 (Cape Town: South African Museum, 2000), p.30.
[530] Martin Legassick & Ciraj Rassol, Skeletons in the Cupboard: South African museums and the trade in human remains 1907-1917 (Cape Town: South African Museum, 2000), *Ibid.,*p.3.
[531] Robyn-Leigh Cedras, 'The Halls of History: The Making and Unmaking of the Life-casts at the Ethnography Galleries of the Iziko South African Museum' (Unpublished M Phil thesis, University of Cape Town), p.18.

Hottentots"[532] as was recommended by the BAAS conference. As Davison adds these casts "…were first put on display in 1911 in large glass cases and later in a diorama…"[533] and that "the composition of the scene was based in part on an etching [Fig.83 by Samuel Daniel, publish in 1805, depicting an early 19th-century hunter gatherer camp."[534] To thousands of visitors, the South African museum became known for these live size human casts in diorama settings and the 'Bushman' diorama became the term that it became synonymous with. Its human element differentiated itself from its neighbouring dioramas of mammals such the "The Boonstra Dioramas" of the reptiles and fossils of the karoo, installed by Dr Lieuwe Boonstra between (1927-1972).



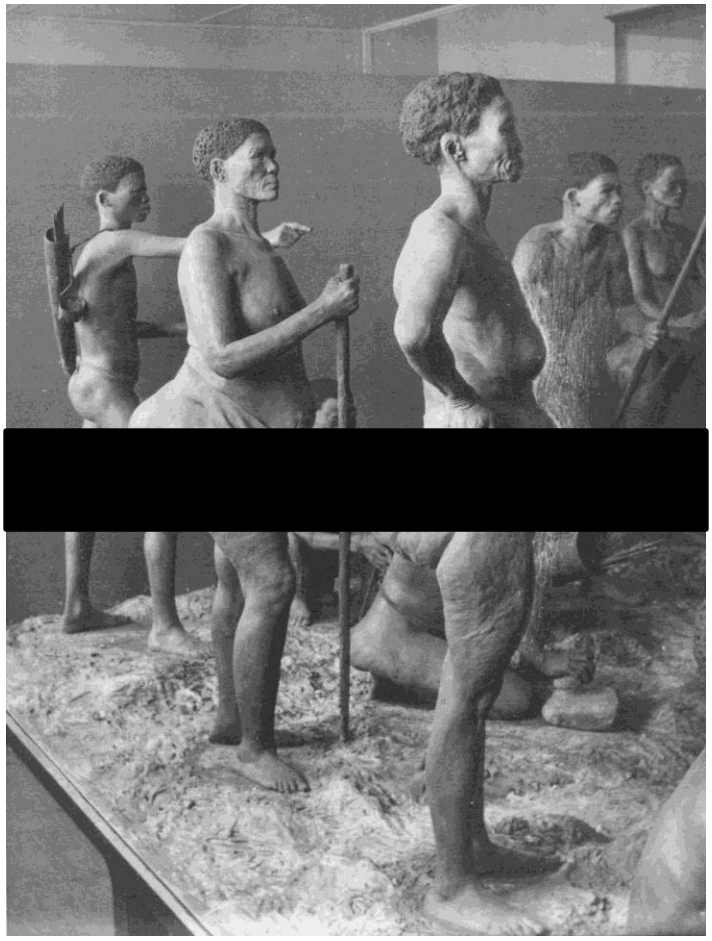
Left to right: [Fig. 75]. Photo of Louis Peringuey [Fig. 76], James Drury

[532] Patricia Davison, Human Subjects as Museum objects: A Project to Make Life-Casts of 'Bushmen' and Hottentots 1907-1924 (Cape Town: South African Museum, The Rustica Press, 1993), p.168.
[533] Patricia Davison, Typecast: Representation of the Bushmen at the South African Museum (Public Archaeology) 2001 Volume 1, p. 4. https://www.academia.edu/24078889/Typecast_Representations_of_the_Bushmen_at_the_South_African_Museum
[534] Patricia Davison, Typecast: Representation of the Bushmen at the South African Museum (Public Archaeology) 2001 Volume 1, p. 17. https://www.academia.edu/24078889/Typecast_Representations_of_the_Bushmen_at_the_South_African_Museum



From left to right: Fig.77 James Drury on the left, Dr Louis *Péringuey* in the middle of the room and unidentified person on the right working on the body casts of the San people in the South African Natural History South Museum in 1920s. Source. South African Museum Photographic Collection.

Fig.78 Photographs of an anonymous Khoikhoi woman taken approximately in 1912. Left image shows her in her everyday attire and right image shows her without her clothes on. Both images were taken as part of her being studied by Museum Scientists. Source. Annals of the South African Museum. The solid black bar has be been placed to hide the buttocks of the women represented, to afford them the dignity they were denied.



Bottom Left. Fig.79 (Neg 2943), Human cast (photographed by Aubrey Byron in 1989) in the South African Museum Photographic Collection. Fig.80 (Photo 237, Issued by State information Office) (Fig.81 Life size casts of the San which were on display at the Iziko Natural Histoty Museum between the 60s and 90s. Fig.82 the Human casts of the Nharo dancers.

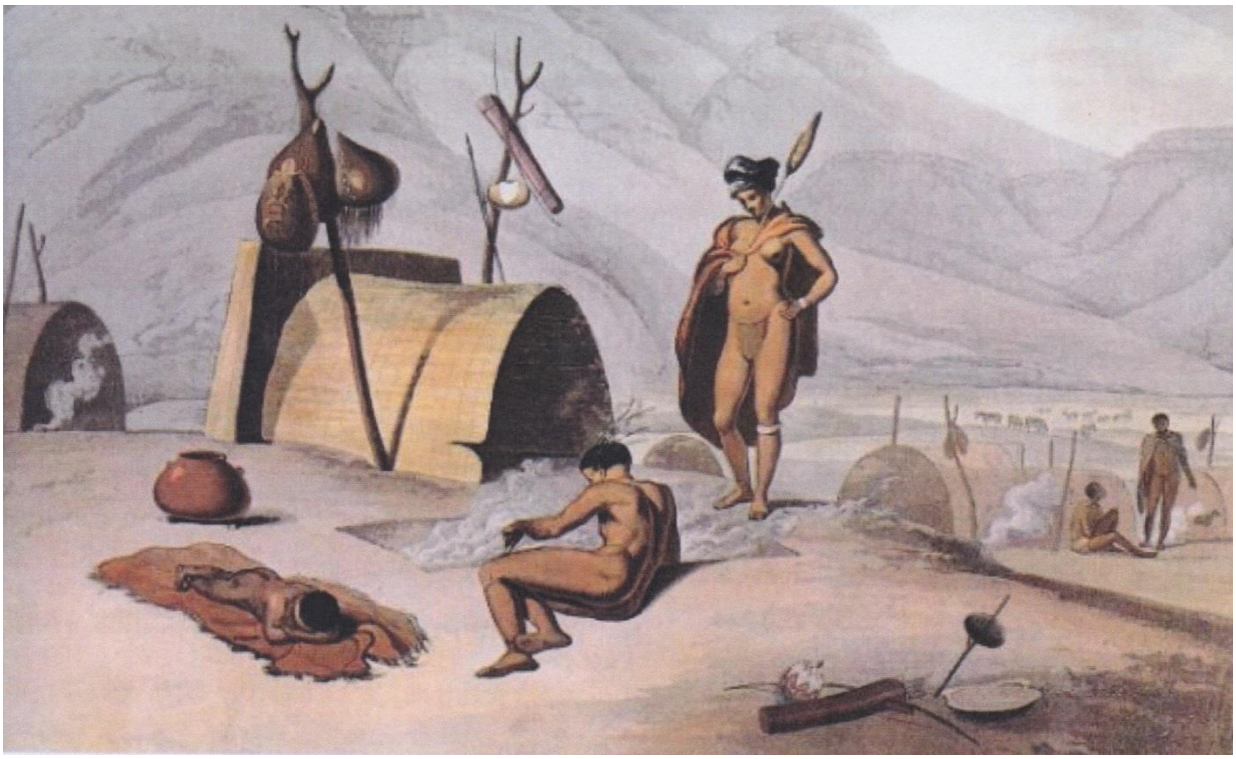


Fig.83 Image painted by Samuel Daniel of 'Bosjemans frying locusts' taken from the book African Scenery and Animals, 1804-5

In the exhibition the African 'subjects' particularly the San are processed and framed within the context of the natural production to give 'veracity' to the idea that they were one with the environment, thus depicted as "…children of nature, isolated from the wider society."[535] It is this observation that prompted Rikke Andreassen to argue regarding the similar myth cast on the Kirghiz's people, "the characterization of the Kirghiz as 'people of nature' relates to the racial hierarchy. Culture—as the binary opposition to nature—was a determining factor for placing people in the hierarchy. Hence naming

[535] Ute Dieckemann & Gertrud Boden, The San Images and Identities: National Museum of Namibia (Namibia: The National Museum of Namibia, 2010), p.14.

races or people “people of nature” implied that their characteristics were natural rather than cultural, placing them lower in the hierarchy than the white Europeans.”[536]

In almost all contexts as Dieckemann and Boden argues “whatever the title was, San societies were represented as static and unchanging with nature rather than the national society or socio-political environment conditioning all aspects of their existence.”[537] And that “rather than providing authentic images of the reality of San lives during the time of production, the diorama and the casts give evidence of the ideas which scientists and museum visitors held of ‘a primordial people’, of the existence of ‘children of nature’ as opposed to a fast changing modern mostly urban world.”[538]

While the South African Museum joined this ‘Olympics of anthropological spectacle’ in a much earlier period and “…originally showed 14 life-casts: seven men and seven women”[539] in 1911 and further displayed the casts in the 60s, in our neighbouring country, the then called South-West Africa and now Namibia, “the original diorama [Fig. 84 & Fig. 85] was made in 1973 by a taxidermist and other staff members of the Windhoek State Museum. It was on display in the National Museum of Namibia from the 1970s to 2008”[540], Dieckemann and Boden, record.

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[536] Rikke Andreassen, Danish Perceptions of Race and Anthropological Science at the Turn of the Twentieth Century in The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representation (eds) by Nicolas Bancel et al, (New York, Routledge, 2014), p.121.
[537] Ute Dieckemann & Gertrud Boden, The San Images and Identities: National Museum of Namibia (Namibia: The National Museum of Namibia, 2010), p.14.
[538] *Ibid.,* p.14.
[539] Robyn-Leigh Cedras, ‘The Halls of History: The Making and Unmaking of the Life-casts at the Ethnography Galleries of the Iziko South African Museum’ (Unpublished M Phil thesis, University of Cape Town), p.74.
[540] Ute Dieckemann & Gertrud Boden, The San Images and Identities: National Museum of Namibia (Namibia: The National Museum of Namibia, 2010), p.13.

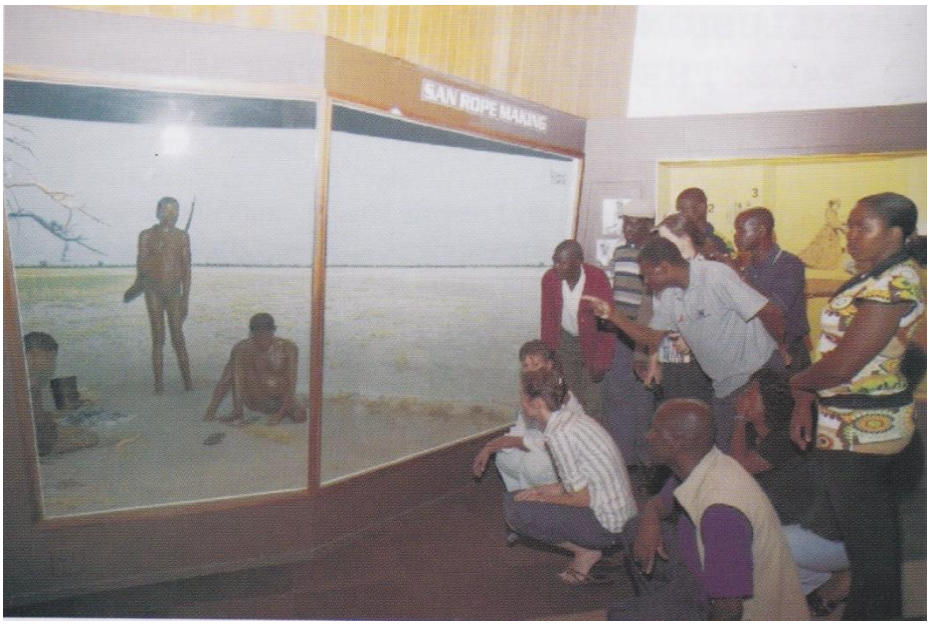


Fig.84 Visitors looking and pointing at the original San diorama in the National Museum of Namibia: Photo taken by Gesa Schutte, 2009

Fig.85 The Diorama Display at the National Museum of Namibia with an additional figure of a White tourist depicted here as a spectator. Photo taken by Wandile Kasibe

The curators help provide a context within which these dioramas were produced and why they can for example still be seen today, “the exposition of plaster casts, which were originally produced for displaying the physical characteristics of the ‘Bushmen race’, is nowadays a very controversial issue. The curators this exhibition decided to

present the casts as a testimony of former scientific treatment of the San (and other people) and as historical evidence of a specific attitude and theory. The mirror, the observer and the photographs call us to be aware of the context of their production and the historical processes which have to reflect about our own images of the San and how they came into being"[541]

With casts being made from the plaster of Paris [Fig. 86] through an agonizing experience, "the diorama became part of a larger ethnographic exhibition called 'Man in his Environment', in which also people categorized as Damara, Nama, Thwa, Mbalantu, Herero, Owambo and Kavango were displayed engaging in 'typical activities' within their natural environments."[542] Dickemann and Boden further reveal to us that, "the process of production was an extremely agonizing and humiliating experience for

Fig.86. Photograph of indigenous people of Namibia formed part of "The Illusion of Conserving a Vanishing Race" exhibition at the National Museum of Namibia. In the image with one indigenous person on the left is made to assist with the making of the cast and the one on the right with the face covered in plaster of Paris with two protruding tubes through which to brteathe. Photo of a display photo of the photo taken by Wandile Kasibe.

[541] Description at 'Man in his Environment' exhibition, National Museum of Namibia
[542] Ute Dieckemann & Gertrud Boden, The San Images and Identities: National Museum of Namibia (Namibia: The National Museum of Namibia, 2010), p.13.

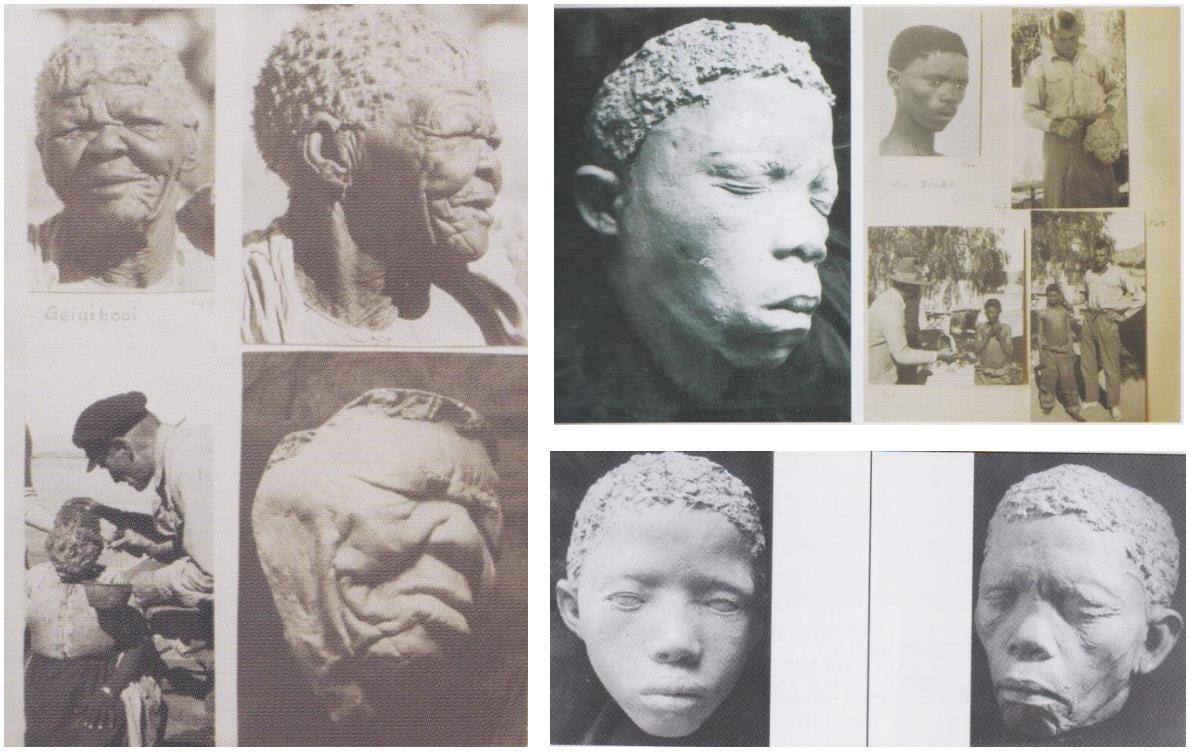
the human models"[543] And sometimes this was done on the full body of the models "…who had to endure attacks of claustrophobia and hyperthermia and could only breathe through two little tubes during the process of making the heads"[544] In this photograph not only are we made aware of the traumatic process of cast making, but our attention is also drawn to the fact that, African people were also cajoled into participating in the harm that was caused on other Africans, meaning that the National Museum of Namibia promoted 'black of black violence'.

Hand Lichtenecker "…the German sculpture…[who] set out on an expedition to Namibia in order to create an archive of the racial types of Namibia in particular the Nama and the 'Bushmen' who were seen as living examples of 'vanishing' races", recounts the agonizing experiences of his 'subjects'. One of those was the old woman whom he "…seated the [old] woman [Fig.87] on a box and smeared up her face with a plaster. As this was strange and frightful to her she was just about to faint."[545] And the experience of the unidentified man [Fig.88] who 'everytime…[they] touched his body…jerked like a young horse being saddled up for the first time."[546]

In these accounts and many others similar to these we are reminded "of the ways in which the subjects of research – subjugates in the colonial history – were treated in the

[543] Ute Dieckemann & Gertrud Boden, The San Images and Identities: National Museum of Namibia (Namibia: The National Museum of Namibia, 2010), p.15.
[544] Ute Dieckemann & Gertrud Boden, The San Images and Identities: National Museum of Namibia (Namibia: The National Museum of Namibia, 2010), p.15.
[545] *Ibid.,* p.23.
[546] *Ibid.,* p.21.

name of science" [547] both in Namibia and South Africa and that, "the physical acts of measuring, photographing, recording and cast-making, as methods of data collection, subjected the physical bodies of the Khoisan peoples to objectification"[548] In both scenarios, "power is always implicated in the process of acquisition, which can also be regarded as a form of cultural appropriation. Power relations are inherent in the questions of who collects, what is collected and why"[549]



Left to right: Fig.87, Front, profile image of the old woman from whom the cast was made by Lichenecker. Top right Fig.88 Image showing the facial cast of the young indigenous male and the making of the cast. Right bottom Fig.89 The facial cast of urikos San and facial cast of San woman.

[547] Ute Dieckemann & Gertrud Boden, The San Images and Identities: National Museum of Namibia (Namibia: The National Museum of Namibia, 2010), p.18.
[548] Robyn-Leigh Cedras, 'The Halls of History: The Making and Unmaking of the Life-casts at the Ethnography Galleries of the Iziko South African Museum' (Unpublished M Phil thesis, University of Cape Town), p.100.
[549] Patricia Davison, Human Subjects as Museum objects: A Project to Make Life-Casts of 'Bushmen' and Hottentots 1907-1924 Volume 102 Part 5 (Cape Town: South African Museum, The Rustica Press, 1993), p.122.

In these displays, "physical anthropologists of the time were concerned with racial origins, race typology and evolutionary difference which played a significant part of the production and display of plaster casts."[550] As a tool of 'scientific' analysis, Davison *states that,* "…the discipline [anthropology] as a whole was originally premised on treating people of other cultures as 'objects' of study, anthropology as practised in museums provides one of the clearest examples of this process. *The casting project undertaken at the South African Museum (SAM)* between 1907 and 1924 can be regarded as a tangible manifestation of a general conceptual position that underpinned the emerging discipline of academic anthropology."[551]

In these passages Davison*, Cedras,* Dieckemann and Boden help us see how anthropology presented the San and native people as the 'other' with "…an absence of qualities of the dominant"[552] as beings outside the pale of humanity *thus their depiction as part of the natural history.* This socio-ethnological focus on the natives was not without its fault, for anthropologists such as Isaac Schapera started to question the linear application of anthropology by his contemporaries.

In his account "Anthropology and the Native Problem", he instils the sense that the attempt to reduce the natives to mere "objects" and freezing them in an unchanging timeline was not in line with good anthropological practice, in his argument he

[550] National Museum of Namibia, The Illusion of Preserving a Vanishing Race (exhibition)
[551] Patricia Davison, Human Subjects as Museum objects: A Project to Make Life-Casts of 'Bushmen' and Hottentots 1907-1924 Volume 102 Part 5 (Cape Town: South African Museum, The Rustica Press, 1993), p.165.
[552] Ivan Karp, How Museums Define Other Cultures. American Art, Vol. 5, No. 1/2. (Winter - Spring, 1991), pp. 10-15 http://halleinstitute.emory.edu/karp/articles/museums_exhibitions/1991_how_museums_define_other_cultures.pdf (accessed 21 May 2018)

foregrounds the observation that, the anthropologist, "his task is to study the different forms of social institution that exist, and to interpret them in the light of the general laws of sociology and psychology."[553] And further to this he laments that South African anthropologists and those who work with indigenous populations chose to ignore the changes that came as an outcomes of cross pollination between the European and the Indigene. And he also argues that, "by ignoring these changes, and attempting only to compile a record of Native life as it was or might have been, before the coming of the White man, the anthropologist went astray. His first task, the very reason for his presence in the field, is to obtain as detailed and faithful a picture as possible of tribal life as it actually exists, and any attempt to overlook the presence of the European factor cannot but result in an erroneous and distorted impression of the Native as he now is."[554] To Schapera, "…the Native is more than merely an object of ethnographical curiosity. His presence has affected the structure of our whole civilization, and upon his future welfare depends the future welfare of the country."[555]

Schapera's argument, helps us formulate a necessary suspicion about the Western fascination to associate indigenous people with the "produce of nature" and freezing them in a static historical timeline of exhibitions in order to justify colonialism, apartheid and the reason these 'primitive' races needed to be salvaged from their 'frozen' past. This justification was possible not only because of the political climate, but also because of the mentalities of people who administered museums. These were ardent believers in the 'superiority' of the white race and everything they performed congealed to this

[553] Isaac Schapera, Anthroplogy and the Native Problem (manuscript) C3.70, p.3.
[554] Isaac Schapera, Anthroplogy and the Native Problem (manuscript) C3.70, p.6.
[555] *Ibid.,* p.6.

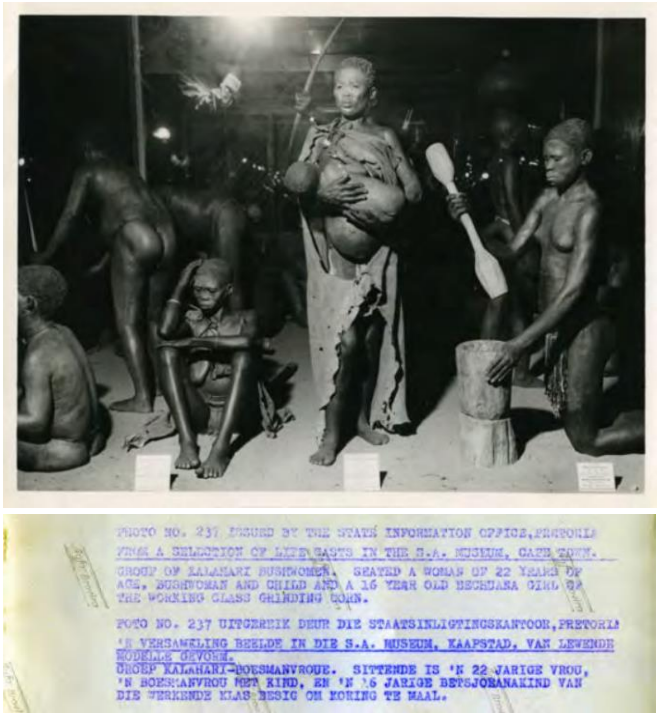
one ideal of white 'supremacy' and 'savagery' of the 'primitive' peoples. It was also possible, because of the support that national museums such as the South African Museum received from the colonial and apartheid administrations which dates back to the time of Andrew Smith (1825) – Edgar Leopold Layard (1855) to Louis Peringuey (1906) and beyond, except for the period when the collection was completely neglected in the absence of Smith.

It also should not surprise us to ascertain the fact that, it was to the same Colonial *Cape Government, that Péringuey* would on 31 July 1907 write a letter, requesting assistance to obtain mortal remains of the 'pure Bushmen', "Sir, owing to the rapid disappearance by reasons which I need not mention here, of the pure specimens of the Hottentot and Bushman races the Trustees of the Museum are endeavouring to obtain models from the living flesh which would enable the exact physical reproduction of the survivors of these nearly extinguished races...But the Cape Government would greatly assist the Trustees of the Museum in securing the last vestiges of these people."[556] The detail to some other letters he wrote to the colonial administration and his contemporaries could be seen in Appendices G, H& I.

It has also emerged as Davison records that, "the project received the support of the Colonial Office, and assistance was duly requested from the Secretary for the Native Affairs, as well as Convict Stations and Magistrates in the northern districts of the

[556] Patricia Davison, Human Subjects as Museum objects: A Project to Make Life-Casts of 'Bushmen' and Hottentots 1907-1924 (Cape Town: South African Museum, The Rustica Press, 1993), p.168.

Colony and in the *Bechuanaland Protectorate"*[557] *With the permission and support from the state "...*Péringuey began to collect the Human remains of Khoisan people more assiduously."[558] Not only this but also "the State Information Office used the exhibit as racialised propaganda, portraying black people as 'primitive', indigenous peoples, and presenting them as they would any other natural attraction in South Africa."[559] Cedras, further observes that, "the museum's use of racial typology provided the 'scientific' framework for their racialized propaganda, as can be seen from the example of the card [Fig.90] distributed by the state of the exhibit…representing the Khoisan as living fossils during the rise of Volkekunde and Afrikaner nationalism."[560]



Left to right: Fig.90 Typologization of Bushmen and 'Bechuana' used by the apartheid administration as racial propaganda. Fig.91 Information 'Archived as SAM_Photo 237_Issued by State info…' Source: Robyn-Leigh Cedras thesis In *The Hall of History: The Making and UnMaking of the Life-casts at the Ethnography Galleries of the Iziko South African Museum*

[557] Patricia Davison, Human Subjects as Museum objects: A Project to Make Life-Casts of 'Bushmen' and Hottentots 1907-1924 (Cape Town: South African Museum, The Rustica Press, 1993), p.169.
[558] Martin Legassick & Ciraj Rassol, Skeletons in the Cupboard: South African museums and the trade in human remains 1907-1917 (Cape Town: South African Museum, 2000), p.5.
[559] Robyn-Leigh Cedras, 'The Halls of History: The Making and Unmaking of the Life-casts at the Ethnography Galleries of the Iziko South African Museum' (Unpublished M Phil thesis, University of Cape Town), p.66.
[560] *Ibid,.* p.100.

Furthermore, Davison adds that, "…the classificatory ethnic divisions that became conventional in museum practice were the same divisions that became formalized in apartheid legislation."[561] And that "the theoretical underpinning of apartheid policy in its various guises, including 'separate development', 'Bantustans', 'Homelands', in South Africa depended on an ethnological classification of cultural groups which had been initiated by the scientific fraternity over a decade before Nationalist government came to power…"[562] Not only this but also the correspondence between Péringuey, his contemporaries and the colonial administration to secure permission to collect 'pure breed' Bushmen does give us the sense of deeper gravity into the scope of his work and ambitions. But it also unveils the networking ideas and toxic collusion that precipitated his human casting project whose conception began in 1905 at the South African Museum.

In her account, "In the Halls of History: the Making and Unmaking of the Life-casts at the Ethnography Galleries of the Iziko South African Museum", Cedras discusses these letters between Péringuey, Dr *Rudolf Pöch and* St George Leger Lennox to corroborate Davison's argument and we incorporate these letters [Appendix *J, K, L, & M*] to support the veracity of the presupposition foregrounded here. In one of his letters to Dr *Rudolf Pöch*, Péringuey already making observations about the 'extinction' of the 'pure' Bushmen and expressing how difficult it was to obtain the 'pure' remains of those Bushmen. In the letter of April 1909, he (Péringuey) writes to *Pöch*, "but whatever side one may take, no Colonial Bushman or pure blood is to be found. Pure Hottentots are

[561] Patricia Davison, Material culture, context and meaning: A critical investigation of museum practice, with particular reference to the South African Museum (thesis), p.22.
[562] *Ibid,.* p.23.

also getting very scarce. I am on the search for the two and have had great difficulty in finding a few isolated cases for authenticity of which I cannot absolutely vouch. I am not sure however that a visit to all the mission stations along the Orange and Vaal River ought not to be the most promising field of research. Hence if you did not find pure blooded remnants the visits are sure to prove of interest."[563]

In these passages, both Davison and Cedras reveal to us yet another 'truth', which is the argument that without the involvement of the museological institution and its 'scientific' methods of body casts, measurements, photographs etc, race as a type would not have had the same prominence it generated over these decades in South Africa. In other words, in South Africa, race construction owes its institutionality to the existence of the museological institution among other things.

Through the body of work created by Péringuey and his predecessors the South African Museum located itself at the 'heart' of 'science' as the leading institution in the study of the South African indigenous and native peoples. Based on this symbiotic intersection between the colonial administration and the museum, we may go further to argue that for the administration to succeed in its colonizing endeavour of further dispossessing indigenous communities of their land, it needed a form of 'scientificised' knowledge that the museological institution was able to provide. It needed 'expect' knowledge and opinion from the pundits of its time to justify its injustices.

[563] Louis *Péringuey* to Dr Rudolf Pöch, 22 April 1909, Kimberley Club, Kimberley, transcribed from letter number 203 and 204, Iziko Social History Centre Archive, Iziko Museums of South Africa] (Robyn-Leigh Cedras, thesis, p.154)

The photographs [Fig.92, Fig.93], of indigenous people "…depicted [in their poor living conditions and sometimes] naked, as anthropological specimens, underlines the unequal power relations that underpinned the project"[564] reveal the nameless identities of *Péringuey*'s victims of a demeaning practice. They also act as a reminder of a disturbing past that continues to confront the morality of the 'scientific' practice in the modernizing world. They help us raise sociological question of identity, power and politics such as who has the power to represent whom?

Fig.92 Photograph of the 'Group of /Xam Bushmen, some of whom were cast by Drury...Photograph taken by D. Bleek' Source: Annals of the South African Museums by Patricia Davison

Fig.93 Photograph by D. Bleek of the '/Xam family group outside their home. The two adult women were Dorothea Bleek's informants and were cast by Drury, Prieska, 1911' Source: Annals of the South African Museums by Patricia Davison

[564] Patricia Davison, Material culture, context and meaning: A critical investigation of museum practice, with particular reference to the South African Museum (thesis), p.147.

Some of *Péringuey*'s 'subjects' of race 'science' were convicts who had been convicted of various crimes and "a great deal of the research was undertaken in prisons because it was easier to gain access to prisons than to travel into remote areas"[565] and some prisons allowed access and some were reluctant.

One of those cast prisoners was as Davison records the "17-year old Augeniet Booysen (Sam-AP3897, identified as 'half breed'), cast in 1908 at the House of Correction in Cape Town, where she was serving six month hard-labour for stock-theft, include a skirt, blouse, two petticoats, chemise, three handkerchiefs, bodice, lace collar, shoes and a ring."[566] Davison points out that, "as she is represented in the Museum, however, Augeniet is without any personalizing cultural attributes. This accords with the scientific interest in the casts primarily as examples of a physical type."[567] And further to this, "ethnographic details of dress and local setting were not relevant to the project and were deliberately overlooked in the way the casts were presented to the public, even though the Museum had access to photographs showing the socio-cultural environment of Drury's subjects."[568]

[565] Ute Dieckemann & Gertrud Boden, The San Images and Identities: National Museum of Namibia (Namibia: The National Museum of Namibia, 2010), p.12.
[566] Patricia Davison, Human Subjects as Museum objects: A Project to Make Life-Casts of 'Bushmen' and Hottentots 1907-1924 Volume 102 part 5 (Cape Town: South African Museum, The Rustica Press, 1993), p.174.
[567] Patricia Davison, Human Subjects as Museum objects: A Project to Make Life-Casts of 'Bushmen' and Hottentots 1907-1924 Volume 102 part 5 (Cape Town: South African Museum, The Rustica Press, 1993), p.174.
[568] Patricia Davison, Human Subjects as Museum objects: A Project to Make Life-Casts of 'Bushmen' and Hottentots 1907-1924 Volume 102 part 5 (Cape Town: South African Museum, The Rustica Press, 1993), p.174

Some of the details pertaining to instructions that *Péringuey* had given to how the casting set up had to be done are contained in the manuscript letter numbered 718-720 [Appendix N] written by Louis Péringuey to James Drury. These accounts give elaborate instructions on how the human casting project and race profiling had to be undertaken. Due to the difficulty with deciphering Péringuey's hand writing, I have incorporated Cedras' full transcription of the letters to uncover the content of the documents.

In this way Drury's human 'subjects' are taken out of their cultural context for the extraction of 'scientific' knowledge to feed to the already created narrative about their position in society. The two grey photographs act as the reminder not only of the people who are captured in them, but also of those who stood steadily behind the lens, in what Skotnes calls "…Khoisan…white settler: relationships that were fluid and changing."[569] These are individuals who studied and made certain conclusions about indigenous peoples they made studies on both in and outside of prisons.

Some of those individuals are Wilhelm *Heinrich Immanuel* Bleek "and his sister-in law, Miss L.C. Lloyd"*[570]* [Fig.94 & Fig.95]. Bleek was a German linguist who he and Lloyd spent time recording the indigenous languages and folklores of South African races, particularly the /Xam San people.

[569] Pippa Skotnes (ed.), Miscast:Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen (ed) Pippa Skotnes (Cape Town: UCT Press, 1996), p.179.
[570] Jeanette Deacon, 'My Place is the Bitterpits': The Home Territory of Bleek and Lloyd's /Xam San Informants (African Studies Journal) (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 2007), p.135

It was he who wrote *in 1869, "the race itself must be* looked upon as an individual organism, in every respect enormously grander than any other organism with which we are acquainted. In this very fact, that the lower animals cannot through articulate speech make the acquisitions of the individual or of the generation the common property of the race, lies the ground of the other fact that all progress of the race as such, and hence all actual united and therefore imperishable and immortal life for the race is in their case impossible. The endowment of speech is the cement that binds together all the parts of the gigantic organism of humanity, and the expressions of this endowment bear a certain analogy to the circulation of the blood in the animal body."[571]

From top to bottom: Fig.94 Portrait photo of Wilhelm **Heinrich Immanuel** Bleek. Source http://lloydbleekcollection.cs.uct.ac.za/xam.html Fig.95 Portrait photo of Lucy Catherine Loyd: Source: Source https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lucy_Lloyd#/media/File:Lucy_Lloyd00.jpg

To Bleek the San languages and those of other nations such as the Xhosas, the Zulus etc, had linguistic depth in whose core lies the potency to reveal more about either the similarities of distinctiveness about these people and their place in the 'human progress'. He animates this point by further observing that, "at the lowest stage of culture which we find among peoples of sexual speech, among the Hottentots, religious reverence of this kind for the heavenly prevails to such a small extent, simply because

[571] W.H.I. Bleek, Author's Preface in On the Origin of Language (New York, Weimar, London & Paris: L.W Schmidt, H. Boehlau, Reinwald, William & Norgate, 1869), p.xii.

the knowledge of the significance of their movements necessary for a worshipful apprehension is as yet so slightly developed."[572] Though his views were much more inclined towards looking into the universal aesthetic of the contribution of the indigenous people's language to human spirituality and folklore, his framework was still informed by the imprisoning mentality of his time for he still looked at the languages of his "subjects" as languages of people who occupied the lower races. What was perceived to be 'underdevelopment' of the language was located in the gap between humans and animals as the 'language of the missing link'.

His contemporary Ernst Haeckel epitomises this mentality when reflecting on Bleek's work when he observes that, "in his situation as librarian, Bleek soon found in Cape Town other an manifold opportunities for becoming more closely acquainted with those lower races of men, who in every respect remind us of our animal ancestors, and who, to the unprejudiced comparative student of nature, seem to manifest closer connection with the gorilla and chimpanzee of that region than with a Kant or a Gothe."[573] To Haeckel, Bleek's work was a "…highly important contribution to the definite solution of this "question of questions"[574] He locates the 'question of questions' in what he terms, "the Darwinian Theory and the Science of Languages"[575] where languages of the 'lower races' were seen a proof to the long held belief that Africans were more closer to apes

[572] W.H.I. Bleek, Author's Preface in On the Origin of Language (New York, Weimar, London & Paris: L.W Schmidt, H. Boehlau, Reinwald, William & Norgate, 1869), p.xxiv.
[573] Ernst Haeckel, Editor's Preface in On the Origin of Language (New York, Weimar, London & Paris: L.W Schmidt, H. Boehlau, Reinwald, William & Norgate, 1869), p.v.
[574] *Ibid.,* p.vii.
[575] *Ibid.,* p.vii.

than they were to human races such as white Europeans, Asians etc. All of this was part of the bigger quest to rationalize the perceived position of the African 'subjects'.
As a colonial linguist commissioned by the colonial government to undertake this linguistic anthropological work, Bleek worked through a contiuim that carried in itself the modalities of these essentializing ideas about local inhabitants.

The couple (Wilhelm and Jemina) was later joined by Jemina's sister Lucy Lloyd who also worked on the 'Bushmen' language project, which today is famously known as the Bleek and Lucy archive located under the special collections at the University of Cape Town (UCT). What provokes our curiosity is the fact that it's named after the 'documenter' rather than the 'documented', the 'collector' more than the 'collected'. This realization alone invokes notions of erasures, thus create the impression that the archive is more about the 'collector' than the 'collected'. If there is something in the name, it does matter who the archive is named after. In this context it must be noted even if it's just in passing the fact that, both Bleek and Lloyd had developed the archive through extracting information from informants such as, "…Jan Rounebout, Jan Plat, Klaas Paai, …Hendrik or Daki, Piet Lynx…/a!kunta or Klaas Stoffel…/Kabbo (meaning dream 'Dream' in Xam) whose European name (Oud) Jantje Tooren…Diakwain or David Husar…!kweiten to //ken or Griet…#kasin or Klaas Katkop…[etc]"[576], but what baffles the mind is the realization that though it is about stories of these individuals and families it is not attributed to them, but the ownership is rather centralized around the people who collected the stories.

[576] Jeanette Deacon, 'My Place is the Bitterpits': The Home Territory of Bleek and Lloyd's /Xam San Informants (African Studies Journal) (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 2007), pp.135-139.

Be that as it may, the so called Bleek and Lloyd archive does undeniable provide a window into the past accounts of the indigenous people who were incarcerated at Breakwater Prison to which Bleek had full access. Though it may be true as Skotnes argues that, the "…archive which is the closest thing we have to a 'Bushman voice' from the nineteenth century"[577], I want to submit that its own 'archival voice' is riddled with silences and elisions.

Even though it contains a much more elaborate account about the San people, it, however, cannot be "the closest thing we have to a 'Bushman voice'" when the direct descendants of the 'Bushmen' are still alive. What Skotnes may be assumed to be purporting in this passage is the understanding that the Bleek and Lloyd archive is closer to the only 'truth' about the /Xam San than the existing /Xam San people themselves and such presupposition constitute the highest degree of erasure, because it seeks to replace people's intergenerational experiences with a documented account that contains recorded interactions between the 'documentor' and the 'documented'.
To leave this assumption unchallenged is to deny the fact that, the San communities still exist today and that there is nothing closer to the 'truth' about them, but themselves as living beings. And neither the perception nor impression that Bleek and Lloyd had about their 'subjects', constitute the 'voice' about those people, for the archive itself does not even scratch the surface when it comes to the linguistic coding of cultural diplomacy and exchange between the San and Nguni and how that reciprocity has through generations translated itself through cultural practices and traditions. For example the

[577] Pippa Skotnes (ed.), Miscast:Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen (ed) Pippa Skotnes (Cape Town: UCT Press, 1996), p.18.

San clicks in the isiXhosa language which constitute more than 50% of the isiXhosa language give us an indication of the cohabitation and exchange that has taken place over centuries between these nations. A much more elaborate account on the exchange between the San ('Abathwa'[578]) and the isiXhosa speaking people can be followed in the work of Jeff Peires, The House of Phalo. Even in instances, where for example the "notes taken from his copy of 'A Kaffir reading-book, published [in] 1850, Kingwmstown'[579], certain references and phrases with isiXhosa clicks are made, it would be irresponsible of this collegial enquiry not to problematize how the institutionalization of the Bleek and Lloyd archive has somehow been seen and used as the representation of the cultures of the people they interviewed.

To take this observation further, Annie E. Coombes records that, exhibitions aimed at historicizing the linguistic research of Bleek and Lloyd were derived from this archive. On exhibition panels and guided tours, "tourists were told about crinkly bodies, nakedness. There were references to the height of people and their habits. All this discussion took place in the present tense with some references to ecological questions. As the group progressed, reference was made to the national languages of South Africa and tribal tongues and dialects."[580]

His documented account reveals to us yet another facet to the long history of race construction in South Africa, that the prisons in particular were also a major outpost and

[578] IsiXhosa word used to refer to the San people
[579] Bleek BC 151 E 2.3.5.1 E2.3.5.13
[580] Annie E. Coombes, History After Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2003), p.229

corroborators in the long history of race in the country. His detailed archive brings to *the fore the fact that,* not only was the state using museums to racially profile indigenous people, but it also used prisons to extract information about indigenous people who were either convicts or prisoners of war. This tripartite alliance between the museums, prisons and the state uncovers the extent to which race was being institutionalized, through state organs.

As a site anthropological study, the Breakwater prison became a place of captivity to many indigenous leaders inhabitants who were sent there as a form of punishment for the crimes they were alleged to have committed. Janette Deacon brings to our attention the fact that, "the first of the informants interviewed was a young man, /a!kunta [Fig.96] or Klass Stoffel, and the oldest man who stayed any length of time with the Bleeks was //kabbo [Fig.97] (meaning 'Dream' in /Xam) whose European name was (Oud) Jantje Tooren. He is thought by Bleek to have been about 60 years old."[581] The archives also highlights other names such as, "≠kasin [Fig.98] or Klaas Katkop...[who] was imprisoned at the Breakwater Convict Station for culpable homicide (his convict number was 4435) and served four years of a five-year sentence there. He was involved with Dia!kwain in the killing of a farmer called Jacob Kruger."[582]

It emerges from the anals that ≠Kasin was Dia!kwain's [Fig.99] brother in-law whose European name was David Hoesar and who "in 1869 Dia!kwain was sent to

[581] Jeanette Deacon, 'My Place is the Bitterpits': The Home Territory of Bleek and Lloyd's /Xam San Informants (African Studies Journal) (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 2007), p.139.
[582] Contributors: /Xam contributors http://lloydbleekcollection.cs.uct.ac.za/xam.html (accessed 19 November 2017)

Breakwater Prison in Cape Town for shooting a white farmer [Jacob Casper Kruger] who had threatened to kill him and his family. He stayed in the Bleek household for two years after serving his sentence."[583] According to Skotnes his "…prison record describes him as 25 years old and his prison number was 4434."[584]

Left to right: Fig.96 Profile image of /A!kunta. Fig.97 Portrait image of /Kabbo. Fig.98 Portrait of ≠kasin. Fig.99 Image of Dia!kwain in colonial clothes. Source: http://lloydbleekcollection.cs.uct.ac.za/xam.html

The details of their individual stories and others, whose names are not listed here, are accounts that could be followed in Andrew Bank's ground breaking work, *Bushmen in a Victorian World*. In this work, Bank details an account which serves as a window into the ethnolinguistic study of indigenous people. He presents Bleek's collection in a way that uncovers the subtle intersecting anthropological practice of studying indigenous people and the making of race paradigms.

[583] Rock Art Gallery [exhibition]. Iziko South African Museum. Cape Town. Date Unknown
[584] Pippa Skotness, Claim to the Country: The Archive of Lucy Lloyd and Wilhelm Bleek (Johannesburg and Cape Town, 2007), p.225.

With Bleek's full support from the Colonial Office, his project was no different from the race profiling and human casting project that later took shape in institutions such as museums and universities in the early 1900s. In their institutional form they all became part of the bigger purpose to produce and reproduce content that validated Europeans' degrading perceptions about African people. San 'diorama' exhibitions in institutions such as the South African Museum became one of the ways in which this arrangement was championed and Drury's body casts between 1907-1924 were a tangible evidence to this practice.

According to Lawrence G. Green, "many of those who experience the full horrors of Breakwater Prison should never have been awarded hard labour. Yet doctors, lawyers, army officers, and other educated men fell into the merciless net and learned the meaning of penal servitude. There were also international crooks who had hastened to South Africa during the diamond and gold booms like vultures to a feast."[585] With this diversity of convicts in prison at this stage it does not come as a surprise to realize why the Khoi – San and Native peoples were singled out to be studied when there were other nationalities, it was all part and parcel of the attempts to study the racial 'other'.

In this way just like the museum with human casts of Khoi – San and Native peoples, the prison became a 'living' locus, in which violated bodied were incarcerated. And

[585] Lawrence G. Green, Some tales of Cape Town's Old Breakwater Prison: One of the Most Feared in the World, The Outspan, 6 August 1948, p.39.

Green reminds us “it was not until 1923 that the Breakwater Prison was finally evacuated. Then it became a native location…”[586]

The circumstances that led to its closure as a prison could be followed through Harriet Jane Deacon’s elaborate account on the *History of the Breakwater Prison from 1859 to 1905* where she states that, “…in 1905, when the black prisoners from the Breakwater were transferred to the De Beers Convict Station in Kimberley, its demise was a quiet one. Only the Industrial Breakwater remained: it housed white convicts until 1923. From 1926 until this year [1989] the building served as a labour hostel for black workers, and now there are plans to refurbish it as a hotel (The Southern Suburbs Tatler 14 September 1989:5) (1).”[587]

Though it has now been refurbished into a University of Cape Town’s Business School and Protea Hotel Lodge, according to Green, “you can still form an idea of the terrors of this prison by walking through the open gates in Portswood Road and gazing at the treadmills and the solitary-confinement cells. The gates are wide open now, but something of the old atmosphere of harship and dispair still remains within the turreted walls.”[588]

[586] Lawrence G. Green, Some tales of Cape Town’s Old Breakwater Prison: One of the Most Feared in the World, The Outspan, 6 August 1948, p.41.
[587] Harriet Jane Deacon, A History of the Breakwater Prison from 1859 to 1905 (thesis), p.1.
[588] Lawrence G. Green, Some tales of Cape Town’s Old Breakwater Prison: One of the Most Feared in the World, The Outspan, 6 August 1948, p.39.

Top Left to right: Fig.100 Image of the front side of what used to be Breakwater prison but now part of the UCT Graduate School of Bussiness and Mariot Hotel. Fig.101 The side view of the building showing one of the towers. Bottom Left to right: Fig.102 Photo taken from inside the building showing the original window frame. Fig.103 Front side of the buiding showing the original bricks from which the prison was built. Fig.104 Inside of the building showing a corridor with doors into the cell prison. Photos taken by Wandile Kasibe.

In essence spaces such as Breakwater prison, convict stations and various locations where *Péringuey*, Drury and other colonial professionals drew 'material' from, became sites of power and dominance where prisoners are manipulated at will. Therefore to understand the 'Bushman Diorama' it is to also comprehend Davison's arguement which is the fact that "...these exhibited figures were...presented as generalized examples of a racial type. Separated from their social and historical context, the people

who were cast were literally objectivized and reduced to scientific specimens."[589] In other words they were used as 'objects' to corroborate their own 'subhumanity'.

The idea that their (museums) multifaceted and "polysemic [nature]…[with] multiple meanings"[590], "…provide windows on other cultures of the world"[591] thus 'help us perceive…[the world] with renewed wonder [and surprise]'[592], should not in any way overlook the view held by Moira Simpson who argues that, "the colonial origins of the museum remains an enduring influence upon these institutions and upon public perception of them."[593] And the argument held by Hilde S. Hein when she reminds us that, "a pair of conflicting ideals motivated museum collection from its beginnings and remained interlaced throughout its complicated history"[594] of race construction through museological displays informed by Linnaean forms of classification, where classified "subjects" are reduced to mere numbers; thus erasing their cultural and social context. In the process, their names and identities become less significant as they enter into the archive of the museum either to entertain or reinforce colonial stereotypes about the very people whose identities are being erased and it acts as "...a clear example of the way in which museum practice reduced people another culture to objects of study."[595]

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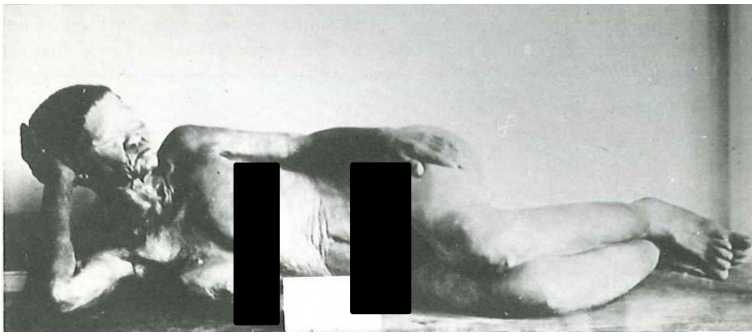
[589] Patricia Davison, Human Subjects as Museum objects: A Project to Make Life-Casts of 'Bushmen' and Hottentots 1907-1924 (Cape Town: South African Museum, The Rustica Press, 1993), p.178
[590] Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture* (USA & Canada: Routledge, 2000), p.77.
[591] Michael Ames, *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: The Anthropology of Museums* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992), p.xiii.
[592] Hilde S. Hein*, Assuming Responsibility: Lessons from Aesthetics* In *Museum Philosophy for Twenty-first Century* ed. by Hugh H. Genoways (United States of America: AltaMira Press, 2006), p.4.
[593] Moira G. Simpson, *Making Representations: Museums in the Post-Colonial Era* second edition (London & USA: Routledge, 1996), p.1.
[594] Hilde S. Hein, *The Museum in Transition: A Philosophical Perspective* (United States of America: The Smithsonian Institution, 2000), p. 17.
[595] Patricia Davison, Human Subjects as Museum objects: A Project to Make Life-Casts of 'Bushmen' and Hottentots 1907-1924 (Cape Town: South African Museum, The Rustica Press, 1993), p.181.

One such case is that of Janikie Achterdam [Fig.105 & Fig.106], Dorothea Bleek's informant, whom Drury had cast. Davison brings to our attention the fact that, "in sharp contrast to the wealth of cultural knowledge of /Xam life that the Bleek records reveal, in the Museum that cast of Janikie was displayed as a numbered specimen, bereft of all cultural and social context..."[596] Davison further posits to us the sense that, in the eyes of those who accessioned and displayed her body cast, Janikie Achterdam remained a non-existent being, a body without a name, stripped off her biographical history in which the genealogy and the meaning of her people is contained.



From left to right: Fig.105 Janikie Achterdam seated at the door of a place of abode in Prieska in Northern Cape. Fig.106 'Cast of Janikie Achterdam (Sam-AP3895) on display in the South African Museum, c 1912.' Photographs taken by D. Bleek & Courtesy of the South African Museum.

The 'specimenisation' of racial 'scientific' 'subjects' was not new, for we know of many human 'specimens' in a form of crania that had been collected whose names of the skeletons belong to were erased. And this was not just a South African phenomenon, but it happened across museums and collecting institutions around the world. One

[596] Patricia Davison, Human Subjects as Museum objects: A Project to Make Life-Casts of 'Bushmen' and Hottentots 1907-1924 (Cape Town: South African Museum, The Rustica Press, 1993), p.178.

typical example is that of a nameless skull [Fig.107] of a Nguni person inscribed No. 25 on the forehead and with the following inscription on the profile left side of the head “Kaffir presented by Colonel Gordon”

Fig.107 &Fig 108 Image of the front and side of the skull of a black South African at Museum of Anatomy in Dublin. Source:

http://www.jstor.org/stable/90005890

The first problem we are confronted with here is the inscription (“Kaffir presented by Colonel Gordon”) in that we are not provided with the name of the individual and the only information we are made to remember is the fact that this “Kaffir [was] presented by Colonel Gordon”. Colonel Gordon, who may have possessed the skull from someone he had killed at a battle field or donated to him as a trophy skull. This implies that to access the story behind the skull of this individual we have to go through Gordon’s narrative even if we don't want to and this is typical of many narratives of the vanquished communities that have been completely effaced and replaced by the narrative of the conquering nations.

In simple terms Colonel Gordon’s identity is inscribed into the invisible identity of this nameless black African, meaning that Colonel Gordon becomes the replacement of this

black African individual. I know the skull is that of a black person because of the way in which he is identified using the K-word. In the history of South Africa the K-word was only used to refer to black people. No mention of his/her gender, but only the No. 25 on the forehead to indicate that there must be Skull No. 24 which may or may not be related to this individual. What we are trying to bring across is the disappearance and the sociology of invisibility of the identity of the person whose cranial remain is currently on the shelves of the Museum of Anatomy at Trinity College in Dublin. It's only in rare cases where you would still have the full names of the person and other details

Either in Dublin, Namibia, South Africa or elsewhere in the world these displays became the source of controversy in that they engender these stereotypes, but also the fact that, as Rassool reasons, "the casts, produced as racial studies in the early twentieth century, had been placed in an invented scene of cultural anthropology, where, as 'the diorama', it had been subjected to criticism by scholars, and become the subject of intense debate and contestation through the exhibition 'Miscast' in 1996'"[597] To Davison, "...countless visitors, including thousands of school-children each year, viewed exhibits that gave credibility to a flawed anthropological notion of racial typology."[598]

Between the time it was opened in 1960, its closure due to public dissatisfaction with its racist undertones in 2001 and closure for partial dismantlement of its remnants in the

[597] Ciraj, Rassool. Human Remains, the Disciplines of the Dead, and the South African Memorial Complex in The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economis, Histories and Infrastructure (eds) Derek R. Petersen etal (USA: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p.146.
[598] Patricia Davison, Human Subjects as Museum objects: A Project to Make Life-Casts of 'Bushmen' and Hottentots 1907-1924 (Cape Town: South African Museum, The Rustica Press, 1993), p.181.

ethnography hall in 2013 the diorama had become a breeding ground for racial polarization and colonial dogma.

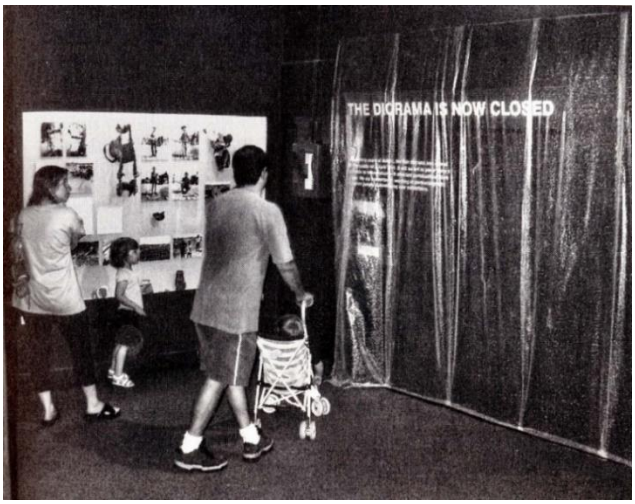


Fig.109: Image of a family looking at a sign in the South African Museum of Natural that says "The Diorama is Now Closed". Phoyographer unknown

And as Tamara Leora Meents argues, this was due to the fact that, "these dioramas were represented in the Natural History wing of the SAM [South African Museum] – which also represented the animal kingdom. Simultaneously, European culture was depicted within the cultural wing of the SAM. By grouping the Khoisan with elements of the natural world, the Khoisan are depicted as inherently 'other', situated not only outside of Western society but also outside humankind."[599] Further to this, Leslie Witz adds that "Teachers and tour guides would constantly use the display to emphasize racialized physical features, pointing to skin color, hair type, body shape, and genital forms."[600]

[599] Tamara Leora Meents, (2009) *Deconstructing Museums and Memorials in Pre-and post Apartheid South Africa,* Unpublished master's thesis, Wits University, Johannesburg, South Africa. pp. 10-11.
[600] Leslie Witz, *Transforming Museums on Postapartheid Tourists Routes* In eds. by Ivan Karp et al, Museums Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations (Duhram & London: Duke University Press, 2006), p.117.

And the exhibition itself was seen by most European scholars and Victorian public as a "testimony to the long-held belief that blacks were subhuman, no more advanced than the antelope in the next door"[601], Rena Singer alludes.

The observation of indigenous and native peoples being reduced to 'animality' finds resonance in Merata Mita's argument as cited by Linda Tuhiwai Smith in her account *Decolonizing Methodologies* that, "we have a history of people putting Maori under a microscope in the same way a scientist looks at an insect. The ones doing the looking are giving themselves the power to define."[602] What Mita is helping us see is argument foregrounded by Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine where they argue that, "decisions about how cultures are represented reflect deeper judgments [and display] of power and authority and can, indeed, resolve themselves into claims about what a nation is or ought to be as how citizens should relate to one another."[603] And this cannot be put in any better way, than asking a question: how should South African citizens relate with one another and the rest of the world in the midst of such controversy? How will they heal if they cannot effect how their cultures should be represented in institutions such as museums?

This dichotomy of the 'self' and 'other' became a point at which the museum instead of unifying the populace, it polarized it along racial lines instead, thus undermined its own

[601] Rena Singer, *After Apartheid, "Museums Rewrite South Africa's History",* 2001 http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/pf/53622436.html (accessed 23 October 2011), p.1.
[602] Merata Mita, in *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* by Linda Tuhiwai Smith. (UK & USA: Zed Books Ltd, 1999), p.58.
[603] Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, *Exhibiting Cultures: the Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (United States of America: Smithsonian Institution, 1991), p. 2.

institutional responsibility as a custodian of the nation's treasures. At the heart of it all was the creation and institutionalization racial difference by the museum, an institution "...that claimed a position of scientific neutrality."[604] The Justification for such 'neutrality' was presented to cajole unsuspecting audiences into believing in the scientific mission, even if it meant degrading the existence of another. For this, Davison quotes Drury as having been quoted in the Cape Times, 7 February 1925, as having argued that, 'the value of the plaster casts lies in their absolute impartiality, their pure, unadulterated 'objectivity'. They are the Bushmen themselves without the gloss of 'interpretation' or extraneous adornment...every shade of facial expression is caught. Every expression, indeed, that the mind projects through the physical organism is recorded."[605] The execution of the exhibition raised many ethical and statutory questions of representation: in a globalized world, who has the right to represent whom, for what purpose and for whose consumption? Can museums act outside the framework of the law and the constitution of the land in which they are located?

This issue was taken up by the first democratically elected President of South Africa, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela (Aah Dalibhunga), who sharply invoked the law in his 1997 Heritage Day address when he stated that, "our cultural institutions cannot stand apart from our Constitution and Bill of Rights. Within the context of our fight for a democratic South Africa and the entrenchment of human rights, can we afford exhibitions in our museums depicting any of our people as lesser human beings, sometimes in natural

[604] Patricia Davison, Human Subjects as Museum objects: A Project to Make Life-Casts of 'Bushmen' and Hottentots 1907-1924 (Cape Town: South African Museum, The Rustica Press, 1993), p.181.
[605] *Ibid*

history museums usually reserved for the depiction of animals? Can we tolerate our ancestors being shown as people locked in time?"[606]

While the exhibitions "were…a source of gratification for the Victorian public whose self-esteem was enhanced relative to the spectacle they observed so avidly"[607], to Mandela the exhibition was a blatant denigration and dehumanization of his people, thus reflecting an undemocratic and exclusionary ethos, incompatible with the broader political vision of the newly born democratic state in which the museum is located. What dignity do African people have when they are depicted as 'specimens'.

Mandela calls into question the individual and collective responsibility of the management of the museum, the curator, educator and the visitor. It makes us question whether the 'untrained' museum, unsuspecting and general visitors who found pleasure in gazing at the 'Bushman' diorama were also complicit in what Mandela describes as the perpetuation of dehumanization. It also makes us reason as to whether curators of this exhibition acted as "cultural imperialists…of the postmodern age"[608], when they were supposed to work with people as 'cultural diplomats'[609] Mandela's scathing attack against the practice that had now become engraved into the psyche of the museological practice stood as a reminder of a long tradition of resistance

[606] Nelson Mandela, Heritage Day Speech, 1997 http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=4215 (accessed 30 October 2011).
[607] Shannon Jackson and Steven Robins, Miscast: the place of the museum in negotiating the Bushman past and present http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_hb6466/is_1_13/ai_n28756603/ [Accessed 8 June 2012].
[608] *Ibid*., p.147.
[609] see Richard T. Arndt, *The Last Resort Of Kings: American Cultural Diplomacy In The Twentieth Century* (United States of America: Potomac Books, Inc, 2005), p.6.

against this dehumanizing practice. Here he spoke on behalf of many who could not speak for themselves.

The irony though is that, instead of the museum heeding Mandela's call to restore the dignity of the black child, the museum complicates the matter by bringing into the very same space the Nelson Mandela exhibition [Fig.110] ignoring the historical ideological implications of juxtaposing black people with animals, thus creating what Richard Bolton calls 'culture wars'[610] By bringing the "Tata Madiba" exhibition into the space the museum, thus falls into Rasool's prediction when he argues that, "South Africa museums have been reluctant to address these aspects of their history, choosing rather to portray the museum as benevolent...without any fundamental epistemological reassessment of the blood of colonial history."[611]

Fig.110: Tata Mandela Exhibition in the South African Museum. Right: Fig.111 Names of Natural History Specimens names after Nelson Mandela.

[610] See Richard Bolton, *Culture Wars: Documents from the Recent Controversies in the Arts* (New York: New Press, 1992) cited by Timothy W. Luke, *The Nuclear Reactions: The (Re) Presentation of Hiroshima at the National Air and Space Museum*, In *Museums* and Their Communities, ed. by Sheila Watson (USA & Canada, 2007), p.209.

[611] Ciraj, Rassool. Human Remains, the Disciplines of the Dead, and the South African Memorial Complex in The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economis, Histories and Infrastructure (eds) Derek R. Petersen etal (USA: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p.148.

Fig.112 Images of specimens named after Nelson Mandela. Photographs taken by Wandile Kasibe

Visitors who come in are taken through this exhibition to be shown the greatness of Mandela and how his heroism inspired curators to name some natural history specimens after him. Juxtaposed with the insects that are named after him is the big label entitled, “Nelson Mandela Immortalised in biodiversity” and below the heading of the label is the following inscription, “scientists face an ongoing challenge in finding appropriate names for the new organisms they are describing and they often name them in honour of other people. Nelson Mandela is no exception in this regard, and at least 17 species have been names after him”[612] and this naming follows Linneaus’ “binomial system of nomenclature”[613]. But is this “decolonization”?

[612] Iziko Museums of South Africa, Tata Mandela exhibition, Date unknown
[613] *Ibid*

Naming people after animals is in the African tradition, for example there are clan names that are named after baboons (amaMfene), snakes (ooMajola) etc. The issue is not the naming per se, but it is where that naming is taking place and also who does the naming and what are political ramifications of this combination. In all of this, what is not shown in this space is how the same Mandela whose name is now being hoisted to pacify unsuspecting audiences was deeply offended by the museum when it displayed his people as bodies locked in time in the room next door. And this poses a huge dilemma on the unintended consequences and political ramifications of using a black person's name and body in a site that was politicized and earmarked for animal displays and natural production.

Eleven years later after Mandela's speech in 1997, the then President, Thabo Mbeki, at the opening of the Timbuktu Script and Scholarship Manuscripts, observed that, "…there are other ways of conceiving of museums for they are in fact spaces of tremendous potential for democratic reflection and civic education. They are spaces open for continuing change and interpretation of the past, present and future."[614]

And four years later after Mbeki's speech, on 12 August 2012, President Jacob Gezeyihlekisa Zuma picked up on Mandela and Mbeki's mantle and call for the transformation and decolonization of South African Museums at "…the reburial of Mr and Mrs Klaas and Trooi Pienaar at Kuruman, Northern Cape Province", whose human

[614] Thabo Mvuyelwa Mbeki, Address of the President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, at the opening of the Timbuktu Script and Scholarship Manuscripts, 2008 http://www.unisa.ac.za/static/corporate_web/Content/tmali/speeches/2008/tm080708.pdf (accessed 9 July 20170

remains had been stolen from the grave for scientific analysis in Austria. He states that, "this calls for urgent interventions to transform and decolonize South African museums, in the same manner that Austria is doing with their museums."[615] Zuma makes the pronouncement at the time when the call for the decolonization of institutions of knowledge production is rife and beckons for inevitable change. In this passage Zuma, uses both terms (transformation and decolonization) in the same sentence to speak to two processes: transformation of management and decolonization of the structure and method by which the museum reaches its 'scientific' conclusions about the human 'subject'. This distinction is very profound, especially in the time where transformation is confused with decolonization. These terms are not mutually exclusive for they speak to a process of structural change that must take place within the museological sector today.

In these passages, Mandela, Mbeki and Zuma's concern raise issues of change that the museum must begin to grapple with in its attempt to position itself as an Africa museum of excellence.

Further to this it also raises questions of what role does the museum play in a democratic state, what responsibility does it have in fostering active citizenship, thus add value to the country's national identity? In a heterogeneous and multicultural society such as South Africa, where does the museum position itself? What is its response to the call to "decolonize" its practice, methods and ways by which it collects

[615] Jacob Gezeyihlekisa Zuma, Our Museums Must be Tranformed and Decolonized, 2012 http://www.politicsweb.co.za/documents/our-museums-must-be-transformed-and-decolonised--j (accessed 9 July 2017)

and produces knowledge? Here the question is not that the museum was not producing knowledge, but it produced a kind of knowledge that fuelled stereotypes about those who harbor dark pigmentation: their culture, their spirituality, sexuality, their language, visual imagery, identity and other ways of being in the world. It became the form of episteme that sought to flatten out not only their bodies, but also misplaced the sophisticated visual and spiritual language of those very bodies. It is these questions and others similar to these that propelled the museum to take a policy decision to ensure the "deaccessioning of unethically collected human remains"[616] including the taking down of human casts [Fig.113], moving them into a storage [Fig.114, Fig.115 & Fig. 116]

This policy decision eventually led to the complete closure [Fig. 117] of the [Fig.118, Fig.119 & Fig. 120] of the ethnographic exhibition in September 2017. In this process of closure all that which was not needed anymore was thrown into the dust bin [Fig.121 & Fig. 122] to signify metaphorically a moment at which the museum attempts to 'cleanse' itself and throws its unwanted past into the 'dust bin of history', but ironically still keeps the casts and remains.

[616] Iziko Museums of South Africa, Annual Report 2012/2013 http://iziko.org.za/PDF/MK_IZIKO%20ANNUAL%20REPORT%20201213_LR.pdf (accessed 9 July 2017)

Before

Life size body casts on display at the Iziko Natural History Museum

After

Empty display case

Top to bottom: Fig.113 Jenine van Wyk dismantilng the body cast exhibition under the supervision of Gerald Klinghardt featured on the right side of the photograph. Fig. 114 Life size casts of the //Aikwe (Nharo) dances before and after dismantling of the body casts in 2013. Fig.115 A school leaner reading a sign 'work in progress' during the dismantling of the body casts in the ethnographic gallery in 2013. Fig.116 Construction tape around an empty display case after the removal of the Nharo dancers. Fig.117 Empty display case. Photograph taken by Wandile Kasibe

Fig.118 Unwanted material from the exhibition thrown into the waste bin. Fig. 119 Unwanted material from the San Bushman Diorama exhibition thrown into the waste bin. Photographs taken by Wandile Kasibe

left to right: Fig.120 Human casts being wraped up in white cloth in preperation to be moved to a storage space. Fif.121 Photo of the human casts in the storage room with Iziko staff taking assesment notes of the condition of the casts. Fig.122 Boxes being collected for the removal of the Ethnographic gallery material in 2017. Photos taken by Wandile Kasibe

Fig.123 Ethographic gallery closed down. Photo taken by Wandile Kasibe

The question about the degree to which the display itself constituted racial offence is an ongoing discussion which on one hand raises ethical issues and on the other it brings to light the question of context. I recently posed the question to the respondents to get their feedback to these following questions:

- "Do you think displaying indigenous or native people in a Natural History Museum constitutes a racist offence?"
- If No: why do you think so?
- If Yes: could you please explain why:

In her response, Cara Stacey responded that "…because, it equates indigenous and native people with animals"[617], a view that finds expression in Michaela Clark who argues that, "if individuals are displayed in a way that suggest they are somehow representative of an entire people then this is essentialist. If they are put on display in a hierarchical relationship to other objects (animals, artefacts, cultural objects), then yes – it is racist…"[618] Though not in dissagreement with the general sentiment expressed by Stacey and Clark, Morris, however argues that, "…context needs to be considered"[619] and that "depending on the location of the museum, the context in which it lies, and the local community's belief/traditions, these types of exhibitions can be met with negativity"[620]

In his reasoning, Sven Ouzman, observes that, "the question is poorly contextualised and merges temporalities; applying today's standards to past practices. While it may be that a 'crime against humanity' has been committed, the specific context of each case needs to be outlined rather than having sweeping statement. Sweeping statements often are simply one form of hegemony trying to replace a prior hegemony."[621]

To the follow up question (If Yes: could you please explain why?), Ouzman posits that, "If it is so that only indigenous people – and not 'white' colonists' bodies/history were displayed then clearly a form of separation/discrimination has occurred. One also has to

[617] Cara Stacey, Questionnaire, 8 February. 2017.
[618] Michaela Clark Questionnaire, 10 April. 2018.
[619] Alan Morris, Questionnaire, 19 February. 2017.
[620] Wendy Black, Questionnaire, 2 February. 2017.
[621] Sven Ouzman, Questionnaire, 16 March. 2018.

assume that the viewers/intended audience were not descendants of those on display but outside 'colonists/settlers'..."[622]

In both Morris and Ouzman's response I pick up the issue of context, that one must understand the context in which for example the separation of displays was done. But understanding that same context cannot be seen as the reason to absolve the museological institution of its racism where it created the impression of 'higher' and 'lower' cultures, 'evolved' and 'less evolved' cultures. This for me raises questions of the intention to group indigenous and native peoples in the South African Museum alongside the natural history specimens. The time in which this happened there were no European casts that were made and displayed in the same fashion as the display of the indigenous and native peoples at the South African Museum. I suppose if we are to understand the context we also need to understand the reason why the specific attention was focussed on creating the indigenous and native peoples as part of the animal kingdom through the diorama displays. Because it was the intention to create 'monsters' out of these 'less civilized' bodies that created the context for indigenous and native peoples to be displayed in Natural History museums as 'less evolved' people. In this logic I contend that in South Africa, both the context and intention were of the same origin, which is racism. This implies that the intention was to locate African people outside of the human race closer to the animal kingdom in order to create a particular context in which they (Africans) will find no place to belong in the family of nations.

[622] Sven Ouzman, Questionnaire, 16 March. 2018

3.1.3 A 'DECOLONIAL' RESPONSE TO THE CLOSURE OF THE IZIKO SOUTH AFRICAN MUSEUM'S ETHNOGRAPHIC DISPLAY: Investigating the Colonial Crime Scene

> "The violence committed in making the Bushman Diorama alongside the systematic classification of other ethnic and linguistic communities as silenced objects, constitutes a kind of "Colonial Crime Scene", that we assert: requires a "de-colonial" investigation."[623]

> "It is in the intersections of performance and heritage as process that NRT presents alternative and potentially productive ways of thinking and doing."[624]

In the previous section we have demonstrated how the intersection between the museological institution and race construction has manifested through the exhibitionary complex created in the form of the 'Bushman' diorama and Ethnographic gallery displays at the South African Museum.

On 12 September 2017, Kara Blackmore and I curated an intervention whose primary objective was to respond directly to the sensitivities around the 'Bushman' diorama and the ethnographic gallery. Our curatorial response was to question the colonial framework of the exhibition and this we achieved through a public intervention which

[623] Wandile Kasibe, Kara Blackmore et al, Curating the Colonial Crime Scene: between archive, archaeology and art (proposal) July 2017
[624] Duncan Grewcock, Performing heritage (studies) at the Lord Mayor's show, International Journal of Heritage Studies, 20:7-8, 760-781, DOI: 10.1080/13527258.2013.807434 (accessed 13 September 2019)

included an intangible cultural heritage which took form of a performance piece by two black African artists: Babalwa Makwetu and Lulamile Nikani. This performative intervention followed the 7 August 2017 ‘cleansing’ ceremony led by the Kei Korana and Nguni Traditional Authority which took place in the same space.

The exhibition intervention invited the ‘publics’ in both isiXhosa and English languages to help investigate what we considered as crimes of colonialism in the South African Museum. As people entered the space they had to consider the ethnographic exhibits as evidence to the following crimes:

- The crime of tribal classification
- The crime of language oppression and silencing
- The crime of casting human bodies against their will
- The crime of human objectification
- The crime of racism

The participants were informed that their inputs will go into a reimagining of new galleries and efforts to transform and ‘decolonize’ Iziko Museums of South Africa from their colonial leftovers to become relevant displays for today’s democratic South Africa and that this ethnographic exhibition (*crime scene*) would close very soon after 40 years of operation.

The curatorial intervention went on to state that: the following are the potential suspects implicated in the crimes. It further requested the public to please add any names you think should be investigated under these afforementioned criminal offenses:

Primary Suspects

Charles Somerset - accused of initiating the museum as a player in the spectacle of empires (1825)

James Drury - accused of making over 60 casts of indigenous people, now classified as unethically collected human remains and sensitive collection

Louis Albert Péringuey – accused of collecting and trading in indigenous human remains and preside over the dehumanizing practice of subjecting African people to ‘things’

Accomplices

Gordon Sprigg – enabled and supported the opening and operations of the museum under British Colonial rule

There was strong resistance by some directors from the South African Museum management, which seemed to want the ethnographic exhibition to close silently,

disappearing without a trace, without a public critique or witnessing. I reasoned that, this exhibition contains a shame, which cannot be consealed and closed silently and must be witnessed by the public for future generations so that we don't repeat its shameful act/s again.

The intervention was audio-visually documented and can be accessed through the YouTube link (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MjX7LdDqUVM)[625]

In the following section I provide my description, reflection and analysis of what the intervention means in the broader ongoing discussions around the decolonization of museums in South Africa and elsewhere in the world.

3.1.4 Discussing the Intervention: description, reflection & analysis

The performative intervention begins outside the walls of the Iziko South African Museum with a young black African woman [Fig.122 & Fig.123] in a maroon school uniform and over her shoulders she clothed herself with a black mourning lace cloth and head cuff to signify her bereavement for the souls of people whose human remains are still in the storage of the museum.

[625] Wandile Kasibe and Kara Blackmore, Curating the Colonial Crime Scene https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MjX7LdDqUVM (accessed 6 October 2017)

Left to right Fig.124 Babalwa Makwetu outside the entrance of the Iziko South African Museum performing. Photo taken by Wandile Kasibe Fig.125 Babalwa Makwetu giving out white envelops to the audiences as part of her performance. Photo taken by Tina Hsu

In her head cuff she carries white envelops to give to the diverse participants. In her hands she is holding a white and decorated enamel basin full of water. The symphony of the squeaking seagulls flying low just above the heads of everyone here, bring to the scene an unscripted ambience, perhaps to signal the spiritual synergy between this performative act and the departed souls of people who were once degraded here.

The significance of having this performance in the haunted space such as the South African Museum, where there are human skulls of Africans in storage vaults, deposits in one the sense of uncanniness and uneasiness. Our uneasiness is drawn from the knowledge that these human remains arrived here under politically charged circumstances and that the people never chose to have their mortal remains kept in this museum in the first place. Meaning that, this is unethically acquired 'material'. But not a lot of people know about the 'truth' of these mortal remains and yet they are here,

waiting for a moment for someone to call them out and this young woman is here to call them out and disrupt that silence.

As participants who heed her call, we do not know where she comes from, for her biography is not revealed to us, but we know for sure that she is here at the Iziko South African Museum to mourn over the lives of many Africans who were once humiliated as 'objects' of 'scientific' study by men and women of 'science'. In the full glare of the spectators' gazes, young and old, she dips her hands into the basin filled with water as if cleansing or suggesting a moment of 'purification'. The water drips back into the basis and as it does she bends slightly towards the basin and utters the following words at different stages of her carefully calculated movements: "idlaka liyalunywa. Nyikim' ungxengxeze mhlaba kuba nawe udlwenguliwe" which literally means, "the grave can be bitten, you earth must shake because you too have been penetrated into".

The use of the isiXhosa words are deeply culturally meaningful and bring another hidden reality to light in the museum space. It brings a language that is not even used in the ethnographic museum displays. It brings the language back to a place where it is not associated with. What does it mean to use a language in a space for which it was not intended? The performance as an intangible cultural heritage and an interpretative tool provokes these questions.

She repeats these words in that sequence as if appealing to the conscience and memory of the spectators to remember what happened here in 1906, when human body

casts were made to replace the realities of a people who were perceived to be a ‘disappearing’ race, the San.

Her reference to the grave and land provokes us to see through the veil of the benevolence cloaked and embellished with words such as the Museum of African excellence. She instils in us the sense that there is nothing excellent in portraying African people as people locked in time. In between watching and listening to her sorrowful gestures, the chirping seagulls, as participants we are moved to reason as to what it means to be a museum of African excellence with such a long shadow of a past that is very much part of the present?

To her there are deeper matters of the grave and land that are hidden behind the closed doors of the Iziko South African Museum, the skulls that were unethically acquired, some stolen from their graves by grave robbers and also human casts made from people who were known in life: a mother, father, son, relative and so on. She is here to uncover all this. The pauses in between her deep gasps are integrated into the background harmony created by the sound of seagulls once again and voices of children playing and museum visitors nearby by. What you are made to experience here is more than just the equilibrium of sounds, gestures, the sight of clear skies which provide clearer detail on the movement of bodies, but she is marshalling us into a moment of atonement. The confrontation of the past wrongs.

At this point she leaves the basin filled with water and moves in small coordinated circles with the sack of white envelops on her head and as she does this, she further utters more words, “our blood has made us servants...”, she repeats this several times contrasting it with her earlier words, “idlaka liyalunywa…” and then reaches out to her sack that is on her head and takes out white envelopes that she gives to the audience to indicate a sense of giving a part of herself to the audience. One by one, however, not all each receives an envelope and what is inside the envelop is a matter between the giver and the recipient.

As she hands out the white envelopes she raises her voice even louder “…idlaka liyalunywa nguqulukubhode umzi ubhokoxekile, sibhenxeshekile kukuntyumpantyumpeka kwisiziba sobumnyama. Le yingqiqo yesizalo sendalo. Isibeleko somhlaba sithunakele.” The passage translates as follows: “the grave can be bitten, its chaos and the house is in disarray. We are deeply troubled as we are sunk into the sea of darkness. This is the reasoning of nature. The womb of the earth has been provoked”.

When she finishes handing out envelopes to the audiences she goes back to pick up her basin of water that she had left on the ground and at this point she advances to the right side looking beyond the audience and starts singing melancholically, “kusibeke emaweni...”, meaning “It is dark on the cliffs...”, she repeats this several times as if she is summoning someone from the ‘spirit’ realm, the tonality of her voice transitions into a call of agony. Attentive audience watches whilst museum visitors and their children in

the background walk out of the museum to take a quick glance at what is transpiring here. She makes her way through the audience that has now encircled her, she repeats “kusibeke emaweni...”, but this time with gestures of reverence, bending of her head to show respect to the approaching ‘sacred spirit’ that has taken a physical form of an ‘old man’ [Fig.126]. All this is taking place outside the South African Museum.

Fig.126 Lulamile Nikani on the right hand side of the photo approaching the audience and Babalwa Makwetu. Photo taken by Wandile Kasibe

The approaching ‘spirit’ comes towards the audience as an ‘old man’ with his face painted in white ochre, with the right hand holding a light brown wooden staff in his right hand and the left holding a half cut calabash with incense in it. His costume is made up of sea shells stuck on to what looks like a fishing net and brown overall that covers him. In the act, he comes from the far distant past, caught up in between times and histories of a people to whom he is sent.

The ‘spirit man’ cannot rest as he is drawn to the silences of the voices that are locked in the display cases and storage vaults of the South African Museum. He moves in and

out time, between spaces and places of occurrences for he is not from here and now, he is from a timeless past and timely present. He is the present-past, enacting things that once were, invoking and excavating commemorations inserting them back into the landscape to challenge the inertia and the status quo. He has come to bear witness to the 'colonial crime scene' and mark the last chapter of the remnants of the 'Bushman' diorama and ethnographic gallery.

He has come to bear testimony to the crimes of sowing rancor and tribalism to divide people so as to rule them, linguistic marginalization, casting of human bodies for objectification, the stereotyping of African cultures and tradition to create a sense of primitivity that often gets associated with barbarism and backwardness. Furthermore, he has come to open our minds and eyes to the traumas displayed through the ethnographic exhibition, the open wounds provoked though visual displays and reducing the sophisticated ways of being of a African people to tribes and in so doing he breaks through the numbness to our conscience to help us feel so we can reconnect to our humanity as a people. He is here to take us back to the place of the 'original sin', to help us face the moment of our shameful past. He reminds us that the exhibition itself is a racializing spectacle, masquerading as 'scientific truth' rationalized by those who positioned themselves as leaders of humankind and modernity. He provokes us to reiterate the question: who has the right to represent whom? He is here to disrupt.

In the exhibition the signposts of a fractured, dispossessed, dehumanized people are apparent but with no context to problematize how they were arrived at or the

circumstances under which they were collected by people who either donated them or sold to the Museum as 'specimens'. Jeremy Silvester reminds us that, "the collections of human remains was a process that 'dehumanised' the people whose remains were acquisitioned as 'specimens'. The most obvious evidence of this is the fact that, even when the identity of the people must have been known, the individual bodies are, normally nameless and described only as examples of an ethnic type with a number, not a name"[626] and all of these combined congeal into an act of a racism that is institutionalized. All of these are hidden clues that the exhibition conceals behind the thick glass cases and wooden panels. But what are the consequences of concealing the 'truth'?

As the woman cries out "kusibeke emaweni...kusibekele emiqolombeni", and she waits as the man pauses, and then she cries out again as if indicating to the old man that it is safe to advance forward now. In a hard-hitting voice, she sings, "khawuvule lendlela…makutshileke…kusibekele" meaning "open the way…let it be cleared…its cloudy" and immediately the audience connects to the words and open the way as the old man approaches them. As he enters [Fig.127] the museum with the audience behind him, he draws us to the silences of many unspoken voices of people whose bodies were once subjected to these degrading practices of race 'science', experimentation and namelessness and he calls them by their names.

[626] Jeremy Silvester, Report on the Human Remains Management and Repatriation Workshop, 13th – 14th February, 2017. 10th May 2017 p.3.

Fig. 127 Lulamile Nikani enters the South African Museum as an old man from the spirit realm. Behind him are audiences who have come to bare witness with him. Photo taken by Wandile Kasibe.

In all of what is happening here, the audience is neither told how to behave, for the compelling voice of the young woman brings it all together and carries it through for everyone to know that these sequences are part of the journey to the 'crime scene'. As he passes the front desk of the museum attendants, following the footsteps of many who had gone through this passage before him, the 'old man' stops here and there randomly invoking names of people only known to him and these are perhaps unrecorded names of people who also were once captured in this museological 'prison'. When the 'old man' stops, the woman stops too and so is the audience, however at the entrance of the Rock Art, the woman goes ahead with the basin of water and start sprinkling the water to gesture a moment of atonement, perhaps to prepare the way for the 'old man' to enter into the gallery. From the inside of the rock art gallery looking back to the old man and the audience she cries out "igazi lethu, igazi lethu, igazi lethu" meaning "our blood…our blood, our blood" after all, this is the entry into the tainted space, the 'mother' of all museo-race controversies in South Africa.

As the old man follows after her, he utters the names and then turns around as if talking to the audience, “masisabeleni ikhwelo lobuni bethu, sicele ubugqi bendalo yethu” meaning “let’s heed the calls of our essence and ask for the magic of our creation”. He takes few steps forward, whilst the lady who had gone ahead withdraws back into the background, the ‘old man’ laments, “nali igazi lethu, nali igazi lethu lisikhonzisile, hamba nam, nam ndohamba nawe”, which translates as follows “here is our blood, it made us servants, come along with me and I will go along with you”. At the second door post of the Rock Art, he turns around again he repeats the same words “masisabeleni ikhwelo lobuni bethu, sicele ubugqi bendalo yethu”.

In the Rock Art gallery, he gets drawn closer to the photograph of Dia!kwain known as David Hoesar and his friend Giri-sse know as Jan Rondebout [Fig.128], a Khoisan man who was incarcerated at Breakwater prison for shooting a white farmer.

Fig. 128 Lulamile Nikani, as the Old man from the past standing infront of the photo of Dia!kwain and Jan Rondebout in the Iziko South African Museum’s ethnographic gallery. Photo taken by Wandile

He stands in front of Dia!kwain's photo as if him and Dia!kwain are in some nonverbal conversation. And after few seconds of uninterrupted gazing upon the image, he abruptly jumps up and walks hastily towards the image of the cave to the left side of the space and there he joins the young woman who at this point is standing on one of the wooden benches under the constructed cave of the gallery. In the cave, their synchronized overwhelming voices congeal into a compelling plea that awakens the collective consciousness of the people who are here. This experience is new in this space.

This goes on for few seconds and the 'old man' leads the way towards the Ethnographic gallery, but before he arrives there, they both have to pass through the dark passage, where a video of the KhoiSan healing ceremony is in a constant loop.

Having passed through, the passage they then enter the Nelson Mandela exhibition that is in close proximity to the ethnographic exhibition which is where the audience is being led to investigate. There inside the Mandela exhibition, there is an entrance with a see through silk sheet, the only entrance into the ethnographic exhibition.

Fig.129 Signage at the intervention written in IsiXhosa, Afrikaans and English. Photo take by Wandile Kasibe

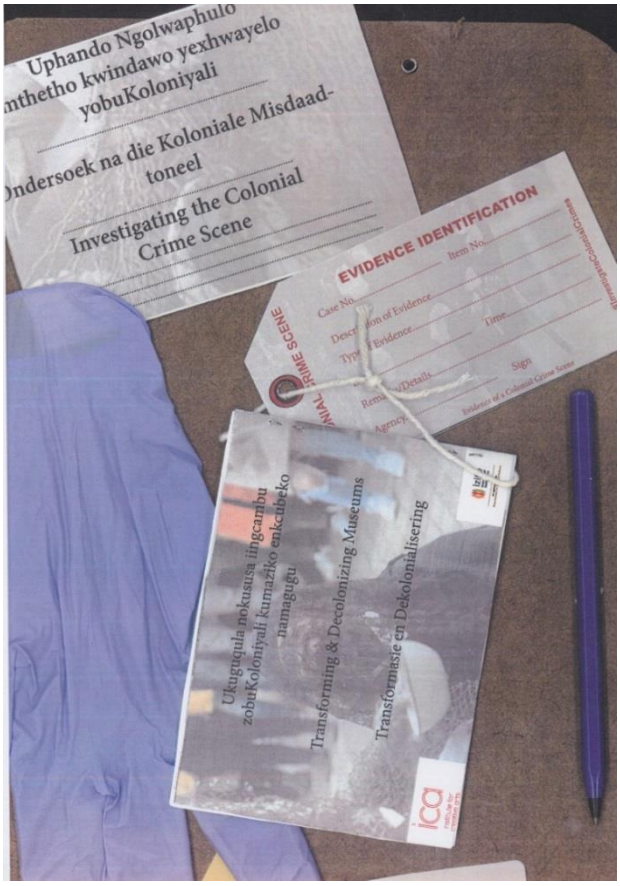
On the sheet is placed a "caution crime scene" danger tape [Fig.129], to isolate the ethnographic gallery from the rest of the museum spaces as a 'crime scene'. On the silk cloth placed also a sign [Fig.128] with the inscription in isiXhosa at the top, Afrikaans second and English at the bottom to interrupt the idea of English as the dominant language that should always be given the first priority. To some degree the intervention 'decolonizes' its linguistic preference. There were also attempts to include Khoekhoegowab, but we struggled to get through to someone who could help with the proper translation.

Left to right Fig.130 Lulamile Nikani standing in front of the entrance into the ethnographic gallery.
Fig.131 Audiences being given plastic gloves by Babalwa Makwetu before investigating the gallery

There, at the entrance of the ethnographic gallery he stands [Fig. 130] and sings while the young woman is distributing blue nitrile examination gloves [Fig.131] to the audience to put on before they enter the ethnographic gallery to do their collective investigation on these ethnographic displays. To do what Davison had predicted when she states that "it is possible to deconstruct the conceptual and ideological frameworks of these displays to reveal how knowledge was generated and communicated within them…"[627]

before he leads everyone to enter the ethnographic gallery, the 'old man' goes to his knees and sings, "yombela mntwana wam, vuka ulawule, bathethile abadala…" meaning "wake up my child, wake up and rule for the elders/ancestors have spoken, dance my child, wake up and rule for the elders have spoken", he repeats it several times before he enters the gallery. Inside the gallery, the woman provides the participants with investigation tools ('evidence identification' tag, glove, pen, sticker papers and a clipboard) [Fig.132] to use as they navigate through the space.

[627] Patricia Davison, Material culture, context and meaning: A critical investigation of museum practice, with particular reference to the South African Museum (thesis), p.89.



From left to right: Fig.132 Photo of the blue nitrile examination gloves, evidence tags, pencil and a writing board. Fig.133 Photo of the blue nitrile examination gloves that participants were asked to put on during the intervention. Photographs taken by Wandile Kasibe

Inside the gallery, the old man stops in front of a long glass display of African shields, assegais, calabashes and other traditional objects to bring the attention of the participants to a number of 'evidence identification' tags affixed to the glass display cases and wooden panels of the gallery. He takes some of the white pigment on his face and sticks it on to the glass case to leave a mark of himself on, perhaps for others to interpret.

By leaving a trace of himself what could he be implying? Could he, perhaps be sympathizing with the shattered voices of the people who were once dehumanized

here? Or could he simply be pointing to a part of himself that died with the people whose mortal remains are languishing in the museum?

At the 'Nama Camp' display he kneels down and tags it with a black ash that is in his hand and from here he proceeds and stops again at a display case [Fig.134] where the body cast of a "…San boy named Klaas Zepot [Fig.135], from Upington who had been committed to the William Porter Reformatory [Fig.136] in Tokai in 1903 after being convicted of stock theft"[628] used to be displayed before it was taken down in 2013. It is said that, "Drury examined several boys in the Reformatory as possible models and selected at least three for casting."[629]

[628] Iziko Ethnographic [exhibition]. Iziko Museums of South Africa, Cape Town. Date Unknown
[629] Iziko Ethnographic [exhibition]. Iziko Museums of South Africa, Cape Town. Date Unknown

Top Left to right: Fig.134 The life size cast image of Klaas Zepot, the San Boy who was one of the boys at the William Porter Reformatory in Tokai. The photo was taken before the cast was taken down for ethical reasons. Fig.135 Photo of the display case with a Crime Scene tape put acroos the exhibit as part of the intervention. Fig.136 William Porter Reformatory dilapidated building. Photos shown courtesy of Iziko South African Museum and https://www.flickr.com/photos/mallix/4679326860/in/album-72157624223780944/

For once, the experiences of those ‘collected’ by the museum were given ‘voice’ by the performers, the mourning was made public and witnessed within the walls of the museum, and a new consciousness came into the space through the performance of memory and culture, honouring intangible cultural heritage. In this moment, there was not a single story that was presented by the museum, but instead a naming of a public experience of violations, which was held in community. There was a call and response where the artists called on the spirits of the ancestors who had been dehumanized and imprisoned by the museum and its actions, and participants responded through inscriptions in the collections and naming.

From top to bottom, left to right: Fig137, Fig, 138 Fig.139 & Fig.140, Inscriptions done by participants on the Ethnographic Display on 12 September 2017. Photos by Wandile Kasibe

This included affirming the dignity of a boy who was at a reformatory when he was subjected to body casting, saying "RIP [Rest in Peace/Power], Klass Zepot" [Fig.137]; highlighting colonial biases "Objectifying exotic other" [Fig.138] of traditional dress of an Xhosa woman – where tribes were indicated in the museum by signifiers of clothing or weaponry. Another inscription notes "Gender stereotyping? Have they given us gender?" [Fig.139] - could it be that the participant is questioning the current gender binaries, roles and the imposition of colonial Victorian sexualities on Africa? Another inscription reads, "Why donors and not makers are named?" [Fig.140] questioning the invisibility and agency of the African people, with the privileging of white donors, which

is typical of colonial museum practice. Another question is “Why only using one language?” highlighting the silencing of other voices.

3.1.5 Examples of how the Public Used the Evidence Tags

In her response to the intervention, Patricia Davison observes that, “the intervention appealed to the emotions more than the intellect…”[630], but though her observation may be true, it however, fails to acknowledge people’s comments on ‘evidence tags’ and glass cases as part of the intellectual work and production of new knowledge. Her choice to divorce intellectual work from the intervention reflects a microcosm of a much bigger structural paradigm at whose core lies the yet another question: who has the right to qualify what is knowledge, intellect and what is not?

This intervention forms a major part of a decolonial, intersectional public collective action and outcry, which undertook an institutional critique through a multiplicity of community voices. It was an engagement which transgressed museum etiquette, where public wrote directly on the exhibition glass, tagged [Fig.141, Fig.142, Fig.143, Fig.144, Fig.145, Fig.146] the exhibition content with ‘crime scene’ tags to interupt the idea of a single story.

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[630] Patricia Davison, The Politics and Poetics of the Bushman Diorama at the South African Museum https://journals.openedition.org/iss/921 (accessed 13 September 2019)

From top to bottom, left to right: Fig141, Fig, 142 Evidence tags left by the public during the intervention. Fig.143, Fig.144 Fig.145 & Fig.146, Evidence tags left by the public during the intervention. Photos by Wandile Kasibe

The tagging of the display cases suggested a moment at which the museum visitor becomes more than just a mere visitor but an investigator in what has been framed as a *crime scene.* In these attached evidence tags and many others like these one visitor identifies the display of Africans in a Natural History Museum as a Crime Scene: "The exhibition itself is a Crime Scene" [Fig.141]. On the back of one evidence tag [Fig.142]

another member of the public writes, “the crime of being a western experience – we need our Xhosa/Zulu led experience”.

Furthermore, another tag [Fig.143] reads, “race science – displaying of blacks…” and this particular tag is juxtaposed with another one similar to it, which reads, “crime against humanity – reducing people to things…”[Fig.144]. To these individuals the ethnographic exhibit presents a problem that polarizes society along colour lines, erupts emitons and sparks public anger. It singles out Black Africans as objects of ‘scientific study’ and subjects them to a racially biased process of ‘thingification’. One other tag [Fig.145] points to issue of “stolen land, murder, objectification, racism…” to emphasize the the history of conquest, mass murder and genocide of indigenous people and the fact that the museum itself was established on such tainted grounds. There is also reference [Fig.146] to blood and spear, to suggest conflict and wars. All of these public remarks combined redirect our thinking to ruminate about issues of systemic violence mainatined through ethnographic exhibitions and displays such as these across the country. Not only this, but they also help us realize the fact that if the colonial museum was built on the idea of accumulation and acquisition of objects and human subjects, perhaps the ‘decolonized’ post-colonial museum should as Ouzman states, “…be happy with rupture, fragmentation, loss and absence”[631]. This simple suggests returning things literally not metaphorically an intervention that may result in museums repatriating enmass its tainted and contested collections.

[631] Sven Ouzman, Questionnaire, 16 March 2018

This decolonial intervention, public participation and naming people such as Drury, Peringuey and others involved as perpetrators foreshadows the decolonial method of what a Museum Truth, Repatriation and Restitution Commission (Museum TRRC) could look like.

The next chapter makes reference to the narratives of Sarah (Saartjie) Baartman (1789-1815), EL Negro of Banyoles, “object 1004” and discusses in much more elaborate details the story of Ota Benga who were displayed at European and North American museums, circuses and zoos to fulfil the purpose of ‘science’.

4.0 Chapter Four

4.1 Sarah Baartman (the 'Hottentot Venus')

I wish to note at this stage that due word limitation I have had to take out two other narratives of the African Diasporas whose troubling encounters under the colonial era have helped raised ethical issues about the role of the 'modern' museums' ethnographic collection in the 'post-colonial' epoch. These are the narratives of Sarah (Saartjie) Baartman (1789-1815) "…whose continued presence in the *Musée* de L'Homme in Paris...[was] being made a symbol of oppression and an important part of the politics of identity in South Africa today"[632], Skotnes reasons. In the name of the colonial gaze and 'science', "Cuvier dissected the body [of Baartman], paying especial attention to the buttocks and external genitalia"[633] and the "the external genitalia were removed and preserved in a bottle. The brain-case was cut across horizontally and the brain removed"[634] and also put in a bottle as a 'specimen' to be preserved for racial 'science'. Her remains were repatriated back to South Africa in 2002.

4.2 EL Negro of Banyoles, "object 1004"

The second one is that of EL Negro of Banyoles, "object 1004" possible of the BaTlhaping, whose people are said to have lived "...on the lower Vaal near its

[632] Pippa Skotnes (ed.), Miscast:Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen (ed) Pippa Skotnes (Cape Town: UCT Press, 1996), p.17.
[633] Phillip Tobias, Saartje Baartman: her life, her remains, and the negotiations for their repatriation from Farnce to South Africa, South African Journal of Science 98, March/April 2002
[634] *Ibid*

jurisdiction with the Orange around 1830"[635], and whose body was exhumed, eviscerated and stuffed like a wild animal in the Natural History Museum for racial science in France by Jules Pierre Verreaux (1807-1873) and his brother Jean Baptiste Édouard Verreaux (1810-1868). And later displayed in Paris and subsequently when the Verreaux brothers had died, the body was sold to Francesc Darder the Spanish veteranian and taxidermist, in Spain. The body of El Negro was returned back to Botswana in 2000.

4.3 OTA BENGA (c. 1883 – March 20, 1916): The African Diaspora in the American World's Fair, Bronx Zoo and the American Museum of Natural History

"The anthropologists putting people on display were adopting to their own uses a motif of exhibition long in evidence at sideshows, dime museums, and fairs…the 1,200 Filipinos, Ainu, Eskimo, Native Americans, Zulus, and Pygmies were brought to St. Louis to be studied, to be dissolved, if possible into a numerical ordering system provided by anthropometry and pschometry"[636]

"From his native land of darkness,

To the country of the free

In the interest of science

An of broad humanity,

[635] Neil Parsons, http://pdfproc.lib.msu.edu/?file=/DMC/African%20Journals/pdfs/PULA/pula016001/pula016001005.pdf (accessed 28 July 2017)

[636] Harvey Blume, Ota Benga and the Barnum Perplex in Bernth Lindfors, Africans on Display: Studies in Ethnological Show Business (USA & South Africa: Indiana University Press, 1999), pp-191-192.

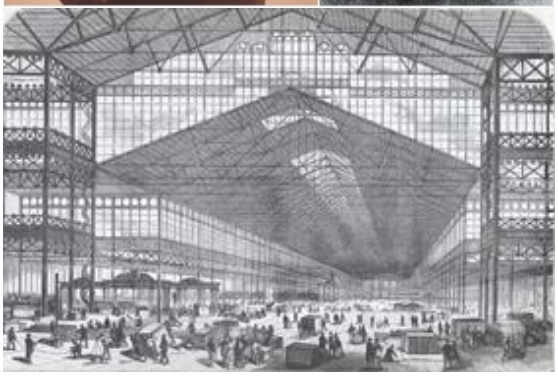
Brought wee little Ota Benga,

Dwarfed, benighted, without guile

Scarcely more than ape or monkey,

Yet a man the while!...In this

wisdom's ripest age – We have placed him, in high honor. In a monkey's cage'"[637]



To to bottom: Fig.147 Image of Ota Benga showing his sharpened teeth. Fig.148 Image of Samuel Phillips Verner. Source: https://www.rt.com/news/336335-ota-benga-caged-pygmy/ Fig.149 Image of the main exhibition hall of the Philadelphia 1876 Centennial Exhibition. Source: http://www.brynmawr.edu/iconog/uphp/AABN/centmain/centmain.html. Fig.150 Image showing construction underway at St. Louis World Fair. The fair was opened on 30 April 1904. Photo shown courtesy of the Missouri History Museum. Album ID: 991296 Photo ID: 29222628. Source:http://stltoday.mycapture.com/mycapture/enlarge.asp?image=29222628&event=991296&CategoryID=23105

Ninety one years after the tragic passing of Baartman, 40 years after the abolition of slavery in the United States and eight years before World War I, Ota Benga [Fig.147], the "Congolese Pygmy", purchased by Samuel Phillips Verner [Fig.148] in the slave trade of Bachilele people with "salt and a length of cloth"[638] in what is now known as the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and brought to the 1904 St Louis World's Fair together with other pygmies to be displayed for anthropological race 'science'.

[637] M.E. Buhler, Ota Benga New York Times, Wednesday , 19 September, 1906 in Phillips Verner Bradford and Harvey Blume, Ota Benga: The Pygmy in the Zoo (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), p.270.
[638] Ann van de Graaf, Ota Benga And the Pygmies: An Ongoing Story (Lynchburg: NA, 2006), p.6.

Following "America's first World Fair, the Philadelphia Exposition of 1876 [Fig. 149]…[,]…Chicago, in 1893, at an exposition called in honor of the four hundredth anniversary of Columbus's arrival in the New World."[639] The St. Louis [Fig.150] World's Fair was next in 1904 "and hoped to top [Chicago], which it did in most respects."[640] But for the St. Louis World's Fair "…a new science was needed, one unavailable to previous fairs, one which the presence of pygmies, Apaches, Eskimos, and the rest made possible for St. Louis. That science was anthropology."[641] The centrality of the new science of anthropology in the St. Louis World's Fair gives us an understanding of the milieu, but also reveals a history of anthropology as a practice and how it was used to typologize people who were deemed to be lesser human beings at the height of western modernity and what Mikhail Bakhtin calls "…high (anthropological) seriousness…"[642] The Arial map [Fig.151] of the St Louis world's fair, gives us a sense of where displays were organized. Adjacent to the Indian exhibit **(A),** and below the Philippine exhibit **(B),** is located the Anthropology exhibit **(C)** where Benga and his fellow Pygmies were exhibited.

[639] Phillips Verner Bradford and Harvey Blume, Ota Benga: The Pygmy in the Zoo (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), p.4.
[640] *Ibid.,* p.4.
[641] *Ibid.,* p.4.
[642] Harvey Blume, Ota Benga and the Barnum Perplex in Africans on Display: Studies in Ethnological Show Business (ed) Bernth Lindfors (United States of America: Indiana University Press, 1999), p.191.

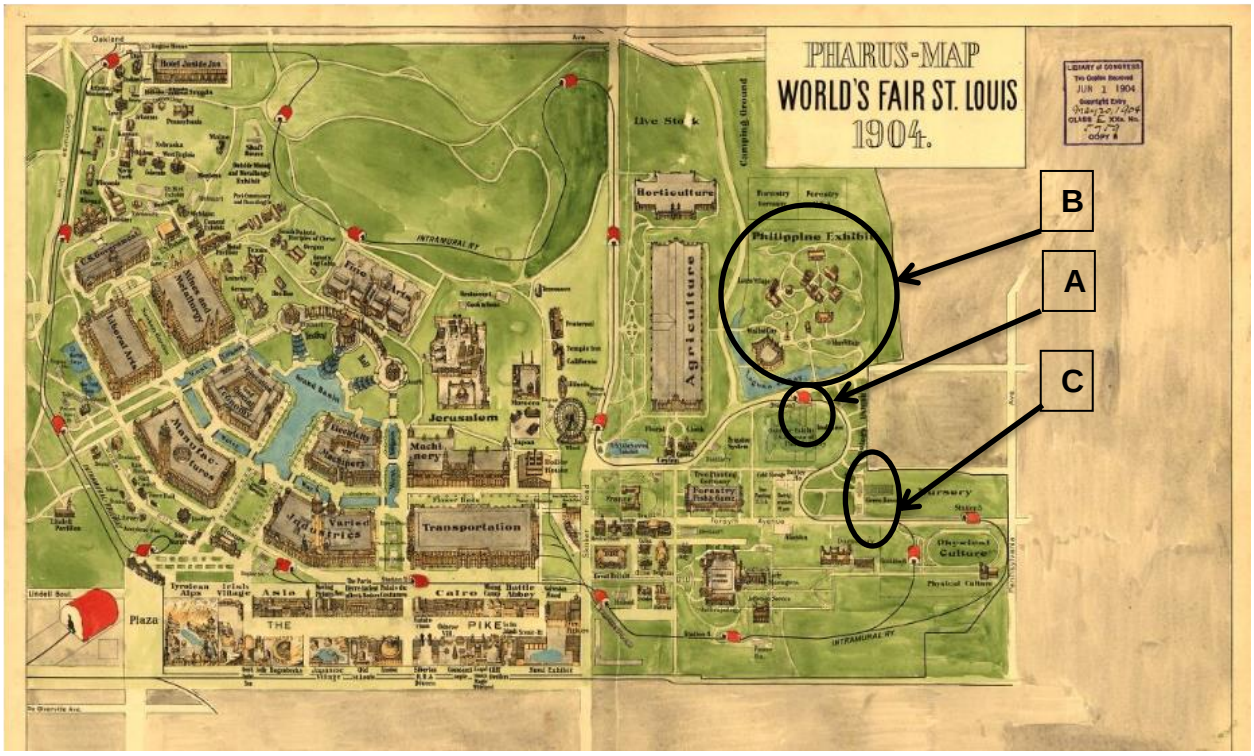


Fig.151 Arial Map of the St Louis World's Fair. Courtsey of the Library of Congress in the United States

In the big scheme of things, this period could also be understood to be the era of anthropological curiosity and "anthropology was the centrepiece"[643] as it "…allowed fair organizers to proudly label their work a 'University of Man'. [But] "…modern, Western man was exempted from the need to be studied in the flesh"[644]. According to Bradford and Blume, "Dr. W.J. McGee, head of the Anthropological Department of the fair, where he was known simply and informally as Chief…wanted the public to think about intraspecies variations, racial hierarchy, the descent of man, and other fine points of social Darwinism…"[645] And "under Chief McGee's direction, special agents of the fair were dispatched to the four corners of the Earth. Their mission, McGee wrote, was to

[643] Phillips Verner Bradford and Harvey Blume, Ota Benga: The Pygmy in the Zoo (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), p.4.
[644] *Ibid.,* p.4.
[645] Phillips Verner Bradford and Harvey Blume, Ota Benga: The Pygmy in the Zoo (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), p.5.

assemble 'representatives of all the world's races, ranging from the smallest pygmies, to the most gigantic peoples, from the darkest blacks to the dominant whites"[646] Bradford and Blume give us the idea that the main aim was that "anthropology wanted to start with the 'lowest known culture,' and work its way up to man's 'highest culmination.'[647]

This period was the critical and perhaps prime time in the 'life cycle" of racial science and politics in the United States, South Africa and the rest of the African continent in both the decades preceding and post the 1904 St Louis World's Fair.

In South Africa for example, it was an era when in July 1906, twenty two years after the "Scramble for Africa" Berlin Conference of 1884/85, that, as Erick A. Walker records, "…the British vote was split between Progressive, Labour and Independent candidates, while Edward Solomon led the bulk of his Nationalists, *videlicet* Responsible Government men into the Het Volk Camp"[648]*.* It was also the time of "Anglicization" and "Afrikanerization" of South Africa in business, labour and politics and when the country was led into what was known as the Union of South Africa in 1910. According to Davision it was in this period when "in 1906 the Director of the South African Museum initiated a project to make life-casts of 'aboriginals of the Bush and Hottentot Races', believed at the time to be near extinction. The project was thus regarded as having anthropological importance."[649] And furthermore "between 1907 and 1924 over 60

[646] Phillips Verner Bradford and Harvey Blume, Ota Benga: The Pygmy in the Zoo (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), p.5.
[647] *Ibid.,* p.5.
[648] Erick A. Walker, A History of Southern Africa (Great Britain: LONGMANS, 1957), p.517.
[649] Patricia Davison, Annals of the South African Museum (Cape Town: The South African Museum, 1993), p.165.

casts were made, and although intended primarily as a scientific collection, many of the casts were replaced on exhibition as examples of a primitive race"[650]

In the Congo, King Leopold II of Belgium (1835–1909) ruled for over 40 years. "For 20 years, he 'owned' the Free State of Congo in central Africa, a 3,000-square-mile section of resource-rich interior jungle and savannah. Leopold's private police force, the *Force Publique*, terrorized and exploited Congo, largely in secrecy. Congolese people were blackmailed into working; they were often raped, tortured, and maimed. It is estimated that 10 million people—about half of the country's population at the time—died during Leopold's reign"[651] It was also an era when, "Congolese people were classified among the broad category of the "other," which also included Neanderthals, criminals, farmers, women, and all kinds of "freaks."[652]

Apart from the situation in Africa and the United States, globally also it was a period where the culture of public spectacle or what Blume describes as "Barnumism"[653] performed through world fairs was rife in countries such as Belgium, France, Italy, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and many other countries that organized these world fairs. Informed by the dominant ideas of the time, "display, on one hand, the claim of authenticity, on the other are twin pillars of Barnumism, and with them Barnum

[650] Patricia Davison, Annals of the South African Museum (Cape Town: The South African Museum, 1993), p.165.
[651] Highbrow, Leopold II of Belgium Episode #1 of the course http://gohighbrow.com/leopold-ii-of-belgium/ [accessed 21 February 2017]
[652] Maarten Couttenier, We Cant Help Laughing: Physical Anthropology in Belgium and Congo (1882-1914) in The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representation (eds) by Nicolas Bancel et al, (New York, Routledge, 2014), p.100
[653] see Harvey Blume Ota Benga and the Barnum Perplex in Bernth, Lindfors, Africans on Display: Studies in Ethnological Show Business (USA & South Africa: Indiana University Press, 1999), p.192.

exemplified the fixations of his age"[654] Blume argues that in this period also, "the anthropologists putting people on display were adopting to their own uses a motif of exhibition long in evidence at sideshows, dime museums, and fairs"[655]

Phineas Taylor Barnum (July 5, 1810 – April 7, 1891), was the American showman, public entertainer, bussiness man and public figure who according to Blume "was nothing if not expert in intermediate species. Missing links were his speciality, and he kept his museum stocked with them, whether to flashout the Great Chain of Being, or after 1859, when Darwin's *Origin of Species* appeared to buttress the theory of evolution"[656]

According to Kathleen Maher, ‘‘America was a new and culturally emerging nation. Amusements as we know them today did not exist. The concept of public entertainment was perceived as questionable and even considered inappropriate as Americans aspired to the highest standards of moral and civil behavior. On January 1, 1842, P.T. Barnum challenged this popular social ideology by opening his *American Museum* on lower Broadway in New York City"[657] This period would also bring into the picture the likes of Franz Taibosch (Taaibosch), a Korana male from South Africa also known as the "wild dancing Bushman" who in January 1918 was "examined as an anthropological specimen"[658] for race science at the American Museum of Natural History in New York.

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[654] Harvey Blume, Ota Benga and the Barnum Perplex in Bernth, Lindfors, Africans on Display: Studies in Ethnological Show Business (USA & South Africa: Indiana University Press, 1999), p.192.
[655] *Ibid.,* p.191.
[656] Harvey Blume, Ota Benga and the Barnum Perplex in Bernth, Lindfors, Africans on Display: Studies in Ethnological Show Business (USA & South Africa: Indiana University Press, 1999), p.190.
[657] Kathleen Maher, P.T. Barnum, (1810-1891) - The Man, the Myth, the Legend http://www.barnum-museum.org/manmythlegend.htm [accessed 15 March 2017]
[658] Neil Parsons, Clicko: The Wild Dancing Bushman (South Africa: Jacana Media (Pty) Ltd, 2009), p.91.

It was also a time that would later lead to World War I, which started in 1914 -1918. With looming rumours of war and global political instability that had befallen nations at the time. According to Phillips Verner Bradford and Harvey Blume in these periods of political uncertainties, "World's Fairs served as national unifiers. In an age that still subscribed to the idea of infinite progress, they posed as utopias, harbingers of the grand utopia to come. They summed up and extended existsing industry and technology. They brought together the universally acclaimed artworks of the west"[659]

Unlike in all these other fairs St. Louis World Fair was unique and sparked debates about the morality and politics of human display. It "housed men and women who had no choice…these were permanent wildmen of the world, the races that had been left behind, the stunted, ridiculous, romantic races. [And] looking at them was like looking straight from civilization into prehistoric"[660] Among the human exhibits, was a pygmy "…referred to in the papers as Artiba, then Autobank"[661] And "his name was Ota Benga" and was later changed to "Otto Bingo."[662] But, "Who was Ota Benga?"[663]

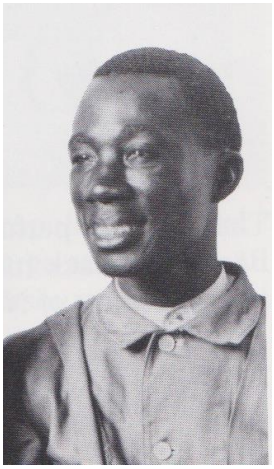
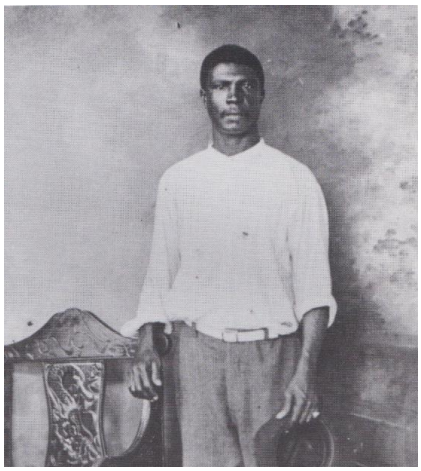
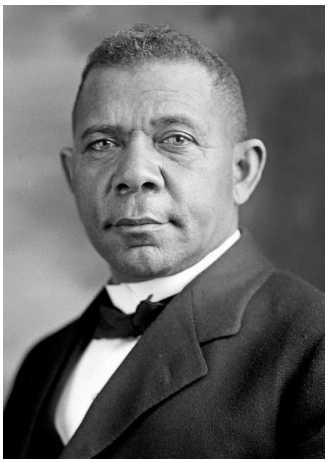
In her account, "Ota Benga and the Pygmies", Ann van de Graaf, provides us with some background when she brings our attention to the fact that, "Ota Benga was born in Africa, in what is now known as the Democratic Republic of the Congo, around 1883. He was the Chirichiri, of the Batwa, one of the several ethnic groups of small people, collectively called Pygmies. He grew up in the Equatorial Rain Forest with his family.

[659] Phillips Verner Bradford and Harvey Blume, Ota Benga: The Pygmy in the Zoo (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), p.7.
[660] *Ibid.,* p.10.
[661] *Ibid.,* p.16.
[662] *Ibid.,* p.208.
[663] *Ibid.,* p.xix.

They were nomardic hunter-gatherers, and Ota learned to be a skilled hunter. The Pygmies were at home in the forest and knew its ways."[664] She goes further to state that, "they made huts out of branches, which were bound with vines and then covered with leaves. A peaceable people, they loved to express their reverence for life and the forest through dance. Wild honey was a favorite treat for them; they would climb a tree where a hive was, smoke out the bees, and share the honecomb among themselves. Upon his initiation into manhood, Ota Benga's front teeth were filed into points. He married in his teens and soon became a father."[665] Further to this, she points out that, "for a period of time, until shortly before Ota Benga's birth, Central Africa was dominated by Arab slave traders based on the island of Zanzibar. They broubht chaos and disruption to the country. Then came European colonialism, which brought still more destruction. The Congo was a colony created by Leopold II, king of Belgium. He was a despot who carried out terrible atrocities through his state militia, called the *Force Publique*, in order to plunder the country for his own financial gain. The African were forced to collect ivory and rubber as tribute, even though to do so meant they had to abandon their farms and face starvation. The Force Publique used draconian measures, such as mass executions and the amputation of hands, if the people did not comply. Many resisted, but to no avail. Whole populations were decimated, their culture destroyed, bags of children's amputated hands collected, all to satisfy the greed of an old man in Belgium and his associates."[666]

[664] Ann van de Graaf, Ota Benga and the Pygmies: An Ongoing Story (United States of America, NA, 2006), p.3.
[665] *Ibid.,* pp.3-4.
[666] *Ibid.,* p.4.

In these passages de Graaf, brings us to a moment where we are made to pause to look into a tragic life of a man whose inhumane treatment would subsequently become the source of controversy at the St Louis Fair in 1904, at the Brox Zoo in 1906, the American Museum of Natural History in 1906 and later in Lynchburg, Virginia where it is said that he tragically ended his life by committing suicide. *Verner meets the "*twenty-seven years"[667] old Congolese man, a Mbuti pygmy *as a slave in* "the village of Baschilele in March 1904"[668], *after* the Balgian Force Publique had masacred his family in their quest for ivory. With the help of Kondolo a.k.a John Condola [Fig.152] who was also from Congo, but had been trained in America with his close friend Kassongo [Fig.153] who passed away in a stampede at Booker T. Washington's [Fig.154] sermon in Shiloh Bhaptists Church in Birmingham on 19 September in 1902, Verner was able to persuade Benga and few other pygmies to go to America.

Left, Middle and Right: Fig.152 Photo of Condolo a.k.a John Condola, Kasongo's childhood friend who helped Verner bring Pygmies to the St Louis Fair. Fig.153 'Kasongo, a prince of Batela people, shown here at Stillman Institute, Tuscaloosa, Alabana, where Verner enrolled him and his friend Kondola in 1899 after bringing them from Africa'. Source: Phillips Verner Bradford and Harvey Blume, Ota Benga: The Pygmy in the Zoo. Fig.154 Booker T. Washington. Source https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Booker_T._Washington

[667] Phillips Verner Bradford and Harvey Blume, Ota Benga: The Pygmy in the Zoo (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), p.116.
[668] *Ibid.,* p.102.

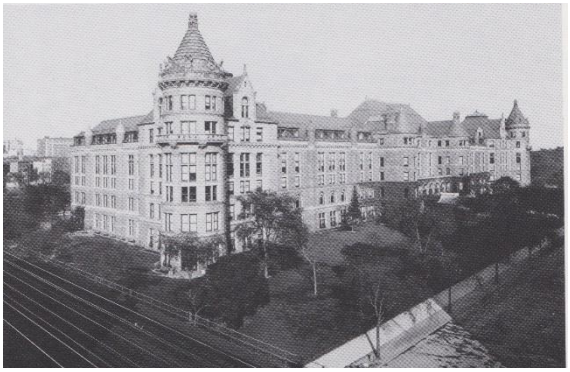
In their narration of the story Benga in full captivity in the village of Baschilele, Bradford and Blume deposit in us the sense that Verner "saw himself as saving Ota. With salt and cloth he was buying him for freedom, Darwinism and the West"[669] And at a deep personal level, "Ota [himself] had lost his family, his world, and the world view that framed it. He had looked on a great deal of death. There was no reason for him to think of this white man as anything but death come back in a different form, a personal summons from the land of the dead. On the other other hand, there was no reason for him to refuse to make that journey in the company of the muzungu [meaning white man] rather than to remain a slave in the village of the Baschilele"[670]

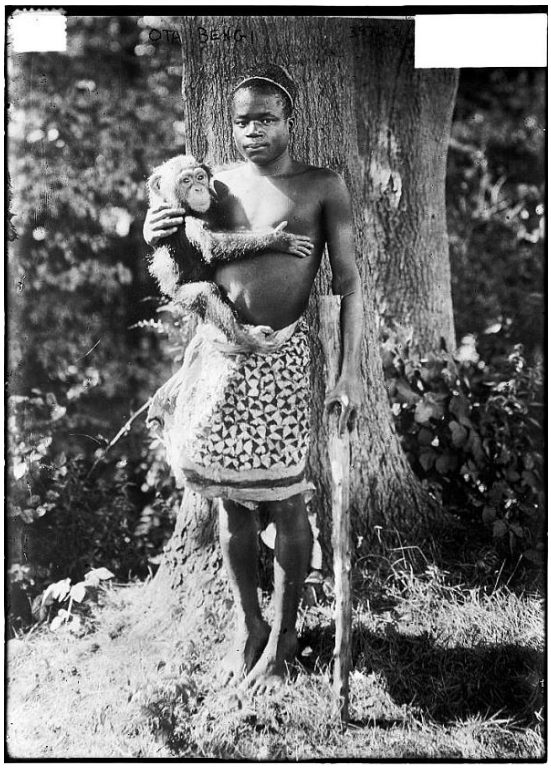
It's this persuasion by Verner and decision by Benga to leave the Congo that later changed the politics of human display across the world. It catapulted humanity back into the classic questions of human variations and their role in the order of creation. It motivated eugenicists and racial anthropologists such as Medison Grant, Frederick Starr and others to question the humanity of the Pygmies and darker skin races such as Zulus who were also exhibits at the fair.

Madison Grant, a eugenicist and "a founding member of the New York Zoological Society, who earlier on, had arranged to put Ota Benga on display with the apes at the Bronx Zoo"[671] later "in 1906, now the trustee of the American Museum of Natural History [Fig.155], Grant published a book that converted many politicians, scientists, and social

[669] Phillips Verner Bradford and Harvey Blume, Ota Benga: The Pygmy in the Zoo (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), p.106.
[670] *Ibid.,* p.106.
[671] Elizabeth Ewen & Stuart Ewen, Typecasting: On the Arts and Sciences of Human Inequality (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2006), p.290.

reformers to eugenic theory and practice."[672] It is said that "Grant would boast that *The Passing of The Great Race* had helped to persuade Congress to pass restrictive measures against the immigration of undesirable races and people."[673] Grant's book "was heavily indebted to the ideas of Francis Galton"[674], the half cousin of Charles Darwin, and his "writings on the *"dangers"* of *"inferior"* races outbreeding and mixed breeding with Caucasians earned him a letter of thanks from Adolf Hitler"[675]





Top left, botom left and right: Fig.155 Photo of the Museum of Natural History in New York where Ota Benga was made to wander as a 'live' specimen Fig.156. Photo of the main entry to the Bronz Zoo. Photo taken by Wandile Kasibe. Fig.157 Photo of Ota Benga holding an *orangutan* named Dohong at the Brox Zoo in New York. Source: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3107714/Caged-orangutan-display-New-York-Zoological-Gardens-104-pound-23-year-old-Ota-Benga-taken-Congo-billed-missing-link-humiliated-thousands.html

[672] Elizabeth Ewen & Stuart Ewen, Typecasting: On the Arts and Sciences of Human Inequality (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2006), p.290.
[673] *Ibid.,* pp.290-291.
[674] *Ibid.,* p.291.
[675] RT, 100 years ago today, Ota Benga ended his horrible life after caged as 'pygmy' at Bronx Zoo, 2016 https://www.rt.com/news/336335-ota-benga-caged-pygmy/ [accessed 21 February 2017].

Benga arrived at the very "heart" of scientific activities in America, where notions of racial science had already been developed and in fact in full swing in North American and Europe. It was in 1904, when Galton, the father of the Eugenics movement who first coined the term in 1883 had explained that, "EUGENICS is the science which deals with all influences that improve the inborn qualities of a race; also with those that develop them to the utmost advantage."[676] In this eugenicist logic, people who were deemed lesser beings with 'intrinsic' inferior genes were marked for scientific experimentation and sterilization to control their population growth.

Eight years later after this statement was made, from 24 – 30 July 1912, the International Eugenics movement launched and hosted its first International Congress at the University of London in South Kensington. This launch was the culmination of the body of work that had been collected over a long period of time, prior to 1912, through formations such as the Social Hygiene movement. It was organized and chaired by men who believed in the 'supremacy' of the white race. Many people who believed in these supremacists ideas, saw Benga and people of his kind as a different species, "…as much part of nature as the chimpanzees that he frequented in the Bronx and the specimens of the extinct animals, mineral specimen, sea shells, and bones of the dead, displayed alongside the dioramas of so-called 'primitive' peoples all gathered together

[676] Francis Galton, EUGENICS, ITS DEFINITION, SCOPE, AND AIMS. The American Journal of Sociology http://galton.org/essays/1900-1911/galton-1904-am-journ-soc-eugenics-scope-aims.htm (accessed 13 March 2018)

at the Museum."[677] Even passed Benga's chapter in the United States, these ideas lingered.

The second International Congress of the Eugenics movement took place at the Museum of Natural History in New York in September 1921 with similar approach to the tradition of the one that came before it, focuses was on differences and human hierarchies with white men at the top.

It was only on his return back to America in 1906, that "Verner got him a place to live inside at the American Museum of Natural History in New York where he was *"free to roam"* until he threw a chair at Florence Guggenheim and was relocated to the Bronx Zoo"[678] where he was made to frolic with a monkey in a cage day in and day out to fulfil the purpose of cultural and racial science as a "rare specimen". While he was at the museum, "he could roam where he pleased, interact with staff and visitors, and play with the chimpanzees. He was provided a place to sleep at night. He was even shown off to important benefactors. Director [Hermon] Bumpus presented the Pygmy to Daniel Guggenheim and his wife Florence, for example, at one of the museum's donors receptions."[679] It is recorded that Herman introduced Benga in the following way to Guggeinheim, "Mr. Guggenheim, I have the pleasure of introducing you to Ota Benga,

[677] Herman Lebovics, Eskimos in the Museum, Pygmy in Cage, Social Darwinism Everywhere in The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representations (eds) Nicolas Bancel et al (New York & London: Routledge, 2014), p.260.
[678] RT, 100 years ago today, Ota Benga ended his horrible life after caged as 'pygmy' at Bronx Zoo, 2016 https://www.rt.com/news/336335-ota-benga-caged-pygmy/ [accessed 21 February 2017].
[679] Herman Lebovics, Eskimos in the Museum, Pygmy in Cage, Social Darwinism Everywhere in The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representations (eds) Nicolas Bancel et al (New York & London: Routledge, 2014), p.264.

whose people, sir, have not yet progressed even to the need for stone."[680] Further to this, "the Director gestured to Ota Benga to bring a chair for Mrs. Guggeinheim. Benga had not acquired much facility with English yet, so communications with him involved lots of hand-waving and pointing, with the inevitable risk of misunderstanding, or in this instance, perhaps not. In any case Ota Benga threw the chair at Mrs. Guggenheim and fled the room."[681] It was after this act of defiance by Benga that Bumpus called Verner who was in South Carolina at the time to come take Benga who had gone 'reckless'. In few days, Benga was moved to the Bronx Zoo, late August of 1906. While at the Bronx Zoo, several articles were written about him in the New York newspaper [Fig.158]

Fig.158 Newspaper clippings of the articles written about Ota Benga while at the Bronx Zoo in 1906. Courtsey Library of Congress, USA.

[680] Hermon Bumpus in Herman Lebovics, Eskimos in the Museum, Pygmy in Cage, Social Darwinism Everywhere in The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representations (eds) Nicolas Bancel et al (New York & London: Routledge, 2014), pp.264-265.

[681] Herman Lebovics, Eskimos in the Museum, Pygmy in Cage, Social Darwinism Everywhere in The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representations (eds) Nicolas Bancel et al (New York & London: Routledge, 2014), p.265.

In the "Gathering of Animals", William Bridges records that, "rarities, in the zoological-park sense are rare simple because they can be found only in the wildest and mostly inaccessible parts of the world"[682] And "for real rarities, the Zoological Park had to depend upon professional suppliers in the main, and usually they made firm offers or quoted on a precise list of wants sent out by Hornaday"[683] As the new member in the collection of the Zoo, Ota Benga's short stature, sharpened teeth, his African way of life offered a rare experience for those who saw him in the cage. In the account about the history of the Zoo, Bridges records that Ota Benga was an African Pygmy from the (then) Congo Free State who for just under a month in the fall of 1906 was attached to the Zoological Park. 'Attached' is used deliberately as a noncommical term; 'employed' in the park was the word Hornaday used in print. Less biased publications asserted that he was 'exhibited' in the park."[684]

In the official version issue of the *Bulletin* of October, 1906, it is stated, by William Bridges that, "on September 9, a genuine African pigmy, belonging to the sub-race commonly miscalled 'the dwarfs', was employed in the Zoological Park. His name is Ota Benga, and he was brought to America by Mr. Samuel P. Verner, the American Explorer and collector. His height is four feet eleven inches, he is about twenty three years old, weight 103 pounds, and has been married twice. His first wife was stolen by a tribe of hostile savages, and his second wife died from the bite of a poisonous

[682] William Bridges, Gathering of Animals: An Unconventional History of the New York Zoological Society (United Sates of America: The University of Chicago Press, 1966), p.212.
[683] William Bridges, Gathering of Animals: An Unconventional History of the New York Zoological Society (United Sates of America: The University of Chicago Press, 1966), p.215.
[684] *Ibid.,* p.215.

snake."[685] The bulletin goes on to state that, "Ota Benga is a well-developed little man, with a good head, bright eyes and a pleasing countenance. He is not hairy, and is not covered by the 'downy fell' described by some explorers. His skin is as free from hair as that of a typical European. He has much manual skill, and is quite expect in the making of hummocks and nets. He is happiest when at work, making something with his hands."[686]

The question of whether he was 'employed' or exhibited, is answered by the fact that "in his manuscript draft of the *Bulletin* article the director gave a detail or two which he edited out of the printed account. Ota Benga he wrote: 'is now on exhibition every afternoon…and he can be seen during his working hours at the Primate House, working with the Champanzees and the Orang'"[687] According to Herman Lebovics it was not long before, "…mobs of visitors came to see the new attraction. Meanwhile, animal bones had been scattered on the floor of the space in which he slept to heighten the illusion of caged savagery. And an orangutan with whom he had grown friendly was brought in to share his quatters" [688]

[685] William Bridges, Gathering of Animals: An Unconventional History of the New York Zoological Society (United Sates of America: The University of Chicago Press, 1966), p.223.
[686] *Ibid*
[687] *Ibid.,* p.224.
[688] Herman Lebovics, Eskimos in the Museum, Pygmy in Cage, Social Darwinism Everywhere in The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representations (eds) Nicolas Bancel et al (New York & London: Routledge, 2014), p.265.

Bridges records that, Ota Benga "…played – with the animals in a cage, naturally and the spectacle of a black man in a cage gave a *Times* reporter the springboard for a story that worked up a storm of protest among the Negro ministers in the city"[689]

In her account *Spectacle*, Pamela Newkirk observes that, "the cage Benga inhabited had been built at the southern end of the Primate House. Benga's cage, like those of his housemates, was connected to a room inside the building. And like the orangutan and monkeys, he was at the mercy of the keepers, who decided when he could enter the building and elude the crowd. Until then, he was unavoidably on display and, like his housemates, subjected to the disquieting hysteria and stares of a seemingly endless stream of spectators"[690] He "…became the object of pointing fingers, audible gasps, and bellowing laughter. Alone and locked in a monkey house cage he could, in the September Indian summer heat, smell the stench of ape feces, urine, and musk laced with the foreign odors of hundreds of spectators packed into the steamy, cramped quators. He did not initially comprehend their language but could feel both the sting of their scorn and the pang of their pity. In their wide eyes he could see his humanity, like one's image in a fun house mirror, monstrously distorted. He was cornered, and exposed to cackling hyenas under a glaring spotlight"[691]

To Newkirk, "while on the surface this appear to be the saga of one man's degradation – of a shocking and shameful spectacle – on closer inspection it is also the story of an

[689] William Bridges, Gathering of Animals: An Unconventional History of the New York Zoological Society (United Sates of America: The University of Chicago Press, 1966), p.224.
[690] Pamela Newkirk, Spectacle: The Astonishing Life of Ota Benga (New York: Harper Collins Publisher, 2015), p.12.
[691] *Ibid.,* p.12.

era, of science, of elite men and institutions, of racial ideologies that endure today."[692] Through her (Newkirk) account and "…a forensic-type inquiry we can unearth missing chapters from Benga's extraordinary journey and in the process retrieve portions of our past from the waste bin of history"[693] And "as we retrace Benga's footsteps from Central Africa through Europe and America, we find him in the shadow of a lettered elite"[694] It is rather strange that such a disturbing episode at Bronz Zoo has today been erased in the timeline of where one would expect a reference to this occurrence.

Speculations about what and who he was began to dominate public discussions and it is in Bradford and Blume's account that we are introduced to these public speculations about Benga's existence, "conspicuously absent is the possibility that he was just as evolved as President Roosevelt, say, or Thomas Edison. It was difficult to entertain the proposition that he and his people were as fully and authentically human as J.P. Morgan or Andre Carnegie."[695] In other words "the press and the public seize upon him as a cannibal immediately and understand implicitly why he is to be found in the same locale *as* Señor Lopez the jaguar, Hannibal the lion, Princeton the tiger, Gunuda the elephant, and Mogul the rhino."[696]

There were also speculations about whether he was a 'Pygmy' or 'Hottentot', and a newspaper article entitled "What is Ota Benga", states that, "John F. Vane-Tempest,

[692] Pamela Newkirk, Spectacle: The Astonishing Life of Ota Benga (New York: Harper Collins Publisher, 2015), p.2.
[693] *Ibid*
[694] *Ibid*
[695] Phillips Verner Bradford and Harvey Blume, Ota Benga: The Pygmy in the Zoo (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), p.xix.
[696] Harvey Blume, Ota Benga and the Barnum Perplex in Bernth, Lindfors, Africans on Display: Studies in Ethnological Show Business (USA & South Africa: Indiana University Press, 1999), p.198.

who has done some exploring in Africa himself, believes that Ota Benga is a Hottentot, and not a pygmy."[697]

To the fairgoers and thousands of people who had seen him when he was at the Natural History museum, he was an "Elf, dwarf, cannibal, wildman, savage loose in the metropolis, beyond ape but not quite human…"[698], but to Geronimo[699], a "nearly eighty year old"[700] warrior and a prisoner of war who had "…done battles with the likes of William Tecumseh Sherman…[and]…frustrated possess lead by Earp brothers"[701], Benga was a captive ally.

Both shared the experience of grief and loss of loved ones in the places where they were captured from, being confined in a cage for the amusement of an audience that was oblivious to this past, Bradford and Blume observe that Benga and Geronimo started to establish communication in the spaces they were confined in. And "it is said that one day, no doubt followed by his guard, Geronimo, chanting softly to himself, approached the pygmy's huts and put a stone arrowhead into Ota Benga's hand"[702] Bedford and Blume further observe that, "the link between Geronimo and Ota Benga opens up the possibility that many unusual connections were being forged among the

[697] Pamela Newkirk, The man who was caged in a zoo https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jun/03/the-man-who-was-caged-in-a-zoo (accessed 24 July 2017)
[698] Phillips Verner Bradford and Harvey Blume, Ota Benga: The Pygmy in the Zoo (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), p.xix.
[699] Geronimo (1829 – 1909) was the Native American and an Apache chief who led resistance against the United Sates and Mexico until he surrendered himself in 1886.
[700] Phillips Verner Bradford and Harvey Blume, Ota Benga: The Pygmy in the Zoo (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), p.14.
[701] Phillips Verner Bradford and Harvey Blume, Ota Benga: The Pygmy in the Zoo (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), p.13.
[702] *Ibid.,* p.16.

residents of the Anthropology department…"[703] This connection perhaps signalled the broader conversation and stronger solidarity of the black African Diasporas who shared continuity of grief with Native Americans, Aborigines in Australia, First Peoples in Canada in their global oppression as a people. It shows the commonality of their common struggle.

The irony of the story of Benga lies in the fact that it is tied closely to the adventures of Samuel Phillips Verner, a missionary who according to Bradford and Blume' account went to "…Africa to evangelize, as per his ordination, as well as to satisfy his curiosity firsthand about questions of natural history and human evolution and, with any luck, to lay the foundations of his fortune"[704]. A man with a dream to establish "…a center of trade in ivory, rubber, and palm oil…"[705] It is a story of two worlds, two civilizations and modernities contrary to the core, that of the West and deep jungles of the Congo and that of an African 'Pygmy" and a white American. The intersecting point of contradiction is a classic one, it is that of a European who comes to Africa driven by colonizing endeavour to see and to conquer. The story of Verner could easily be described in the old Latin phrase "Veni, vidi, vici", meaning "I came, I saw, I conquered". His "quest to 'discover' the Pygmy continued in earnest with the exploitation of the unknown interior of the African continent. The close of the African slave trade the imperial land grab that divided and ravaged the African continent, the industrial revolution and the dissemination of Darwin's theory of evolution provided the money, the mood and the

[703] Phillips Verner Bradford and Harvey Blume, Ota Benga: The Pygmy in the Zoo (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), p.17.
[704] *Ibid.,* p.74.
[705] Phillips Verner Bradford and Harvey Blume, Ota Benga: The Pygmy in the Zoo (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), p.82.

psychological need to bring a Pygmy to America not in chains but in a cage"[706], writes Opal Moore.

In both Bradford and Blume's accounts, we are given a deeper sense of how he managed to conquer and persuade the Pygmies from the jungles of the Congo to leave their places of birth and take off for a place they had never been, a place on the other side of the seas and one of these Pygmies was Ota Benga. At the very moment Verner and Benga had set their feet on the American soil, "everything was in place, everything positioned in proper relationship to everything else – sign, cage, man, ape, science, and spectacle – but in this case probably not all of it was necessary"[707]

Through Bradford and Blume's we also understand the fact that Anthropologists used the human exhibits at the fair to concentrate on such questions as "were dark-skinned people capable of discerning the color blue? How did the barbaric races compare with intellectually defective Caucasians on intelligence tests? Was the ration of head size to body size a reliable index of cleverness? How would native peoples react to optical illusions? How quick would they respond to pain?"[708] These questions and others similar to these also ignited Bradford and Blume calls, "…passion for measurements. Scientists recorded and graphed the height, head size, and nose size of the people exhibited at the fair"[709]

[706] Opal Moore, Coming to America newspaper article [date unknown] p.6.
[707] Harvey Blume in Bernth, Lindfors, Africans on Display: Studies in Ethnological Show Business (USA & South Africa: Indiana University Press, 1999), p.193.
[708] Phillips Verner Bradford and Harvey Blume, Ota Benga: The Pygmy in the Zoo (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), pp.113-114.
[709] *Ibid.,* p.114.

It captured the colonial imagination and sensation about the "other" and revived old classic enquiries about the position of that "other" in the timeline of history. As Blume discusses for example, Benga's "appearance in the flesh, his authenticity vouched for by a zoo director, could not be anything less than a sensation. Homer had written about the defeat of the Pygmies by the cranes descending upon in their annual escape from 'winter time and the rains unceasing.'"[710] And further to this "Herodotus had called them a 'nation of wizards.' Pliny had listed them among the monstrous races and bequeathed them to the middle ages for further study. A medieval schoolman argued that the Pygmies' humanity was skin deep, a matter of appearance only; it would fail to pass the test of logic. Pygmies, he postulated, could not reason from a premise to its conclusion. They would fail at syllogisms, and therefore, were merely counterfeit humans, monsters and human disguise"[711]

The colonial paraphernalia: craniometry based on colonial predetermined assumptions and pressupositions would give scientists and anthropologists just what they needed to justify their dehumanization of those whom they deemed lesser beings and Benga was one of those beings.

In a sense his display at the fair, the museum and the zoo was part of a larger continuum of the study of the origins on men, but the difference with the fair was the fact that the race theories about the "subhumanity" of the Africans and other native people

[710] Harvey Blume in Bernth, Lindfors, Africans on Display: Studies in Ethnological Show Business (USA & South Africa: Indiana University Press, 1999), p.193.
[711] Harvey Blume, Ota Benga and the Barnum Perplex in Bernth, Lindfors, Africans on Display: Studies in Ethnological Show Business (USA & South Africa: Indiana University Press, 1999), p.193.

displayed on the show, was presented in a physical form to demonstrate the backwardness of the people who were represented by these "living specimens". The apetite to classify was huge and as Bradford and Blume point out that "the anthropologists wanted to qualify everything about him - his head size, foot size, the distance between heel and toe, nose and forehead, the space between his eyes. It was considered worthy of scientific note to put a baseball in his hand and find out how far he could fling it. [And] all these numbers would then be rubbed together, mumbled and jumbled and chanted over, to determine what a pygmy was"[712]

It was not so long before Benga's sharpenned teeth [Fig.159] was associated with notions of cannibalism, when infact this was part of Benga's culture and his people. As futher observed by Blume, "the ability to chop Aristotelian logic was used as the entrance exam into the human race for centuries."[713] It was also seen as an affirmation of the ideas held by the generation of European scholars and voyagers who had already developed a body of theoretical work sought to isolate dark skinned African as different species that evolved from a different line of evolution and one of these

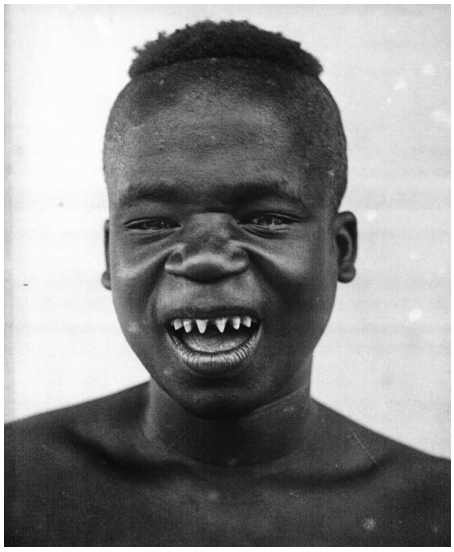


Fig.159 "A portrait of Ota Benga taken in Congo. His sharp teeth were the result of tooth chipping, a practice that was popular among young men. Photograph: American Museum of Natural History": Source https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jun/03/the-man-who-was-caged-in-a-zoo#img-2

[712] Phillips Verner Bradford and Harvey Blume, Ota Benga: The Pygmy in the Zoo (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), p.xix.
[713] Harvey Blume, Ota Benga and the Barnum Perplex in Bernth, Lindfors, Africans on Display: Studies in Ethnological Show Business (USA & South Africa: Indiana University Press, 1999), p.193.

individuals was François-Marie Arouet, also known as Voltaire (1694 – 1778), a French Philosopher.

In his account, Race John R. Baker quote Voltaire to have said of the Negroes "the round eyes, their flat nose, their lips that are always thick, their different shaped ears, the wool of their head, even the measure of their intelligence, place prodigious differences between them and other *espèces* of men"[714] Baker goes on to further state that "Voltaire reverted to the tablier in Les lettres d'Amabed. This work of fiction consists mainly of letters written by one Amabed, an Indian of Benares, to Shastasid, the 'Grand Brame de Madure', and of the letters replies"[715]

Under the corrosive gaze of the American public, Benga remained in the cage of the Zoo until he was seen by Rev R.S. MacArthur and Lebovics reports that the news had reached a group of ministers led by Reverend James Gordon [Fig.160] who protested against this dehumanizing practice, "our race, we think, is depressed enough without exhibiting one of us with the apes. We think we are worthy of being considered human beings

Fig.160 Portrait photo of "Reverend James Gordon led the protests against Ota Benga's exhibition and captivity in the monkey house. Photograph: Anne Spencer House and Garden Museum" Source: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jun/03/the-man-who-was-caged-in-a-zoo#img-2

[714] François-Marie Arouet in John R. Baker, Race (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp.19-20.
[715] John R. Baker, Race (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), p.20.

with souls"[716] he said. It was also around this time that Benga's news of being caged featured in "The Journal", of the 19 September 1906 in Paris. After reading "The Journal", the 67 year old Mlle Josephine Vaudez, offered to buy Benga at a reasonable price. He writes: "I have seen in a journal which is called The Journal, and whose office is 100 Rue Richelieu, Paris, that in New York a man African is exhibited with some monkeys in the Garden Zoologique de Bronx. If you would sell him to me not too dear for I am not rich. If he is in good condition write me his age and the care he ought to have and if we are able to understand ourselves. I would then send someone to see him and discuss the price of purchase. I await your response. I you salute. MLEE. JOSEPHINE VAUDEZ."[717] Vaudez, pittied him, and we know this purchase did not happen.

Newkirk states that, "the exhibition of a visibly shaken African with apes in the New York Zoological Gardens, four decades after the end of slavery in America, would highlight the precarious status of black people in the nation's imperial city. It pitted the "coloured" ministers, and a few elite allies, against a wall of white indifference, as New York's newspapers, scientists, public officials, and ordinary citizens revelled in the spectacle."[718] After a public uproar, Lebovics further reports that "at the end of September, Verner brought him to live in Rev. Gordon's Howard Coloured Orphan Asylum…But finally in January 1910 Rev. Gordon arranged to send him South to

[716] Herman Lebovics, Eskimos in the Museum, Pygmy in Cage, Social Darwinism Everywhere in The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representations (eds) Nicolas Bancel et al (New York & London: Routledge, 2014), p.266.
[717] Mlle Josephine Vaudez, Wants To Buy The Pygmy: An Elderly French Woman Writes to Inquire About Ota Benga Press clipping
[718] Pamela Newkirk, The Man Who Was Caged in a Zoo. 2015 https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jun/03/the-man-who-was-caged-in-a-zoo#img-2 (accessed 24 July 2017)

Lynchburg, Virginia…"[719] It is here in Lynchburg that Benga would sadly end his life, with a revolver alone in a house where he was sojourning.

The image [Fig.161] is "an undertaking company's records [that] show that embalming and hearse services for the funeral of Ota Benga cost $15 in 1916. The record notes that Otto Bingo, as he was commonly called in Lynchburg, committed suicide on March 20 of the year by shooting himself in the left breast."[720] His wounded and scarred body lies beneath an unmarked grave in Lynchburg, Virginia, the south of the United States of America.

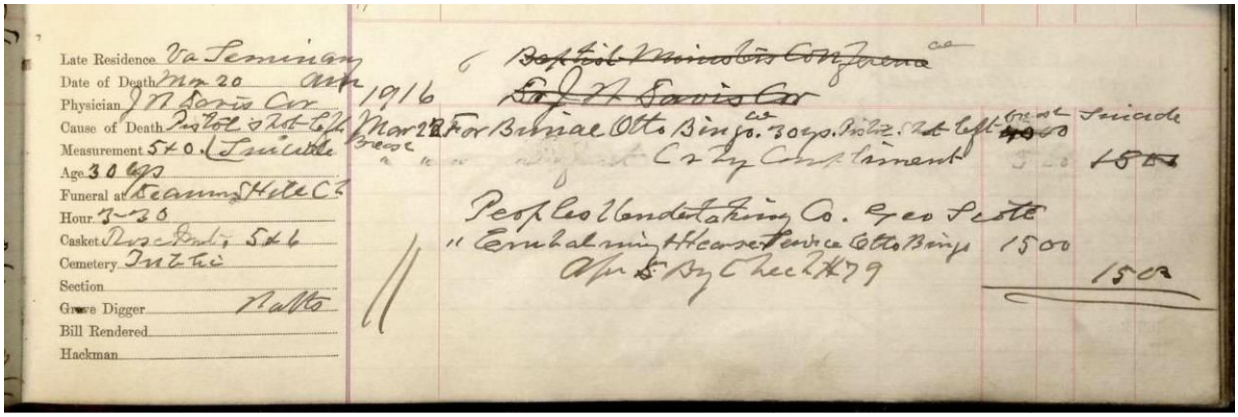


Fig.161 A scanned in image of 'an undertaking company's records 1. vertoning/2. opvoering/3. konsert/4. produksie/5. skou that embalming and hearse services for the funeral of Ota Benga cost $15 in 1916'. Source: Encyclipedia Virginia, Virginia Humanities: https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/media_player?mets_filename=evm00002172mets.xml#

[719] Herman Lebovics, Eskimos in the Museum, Pygmy in Cage, Social Darwinism Everywhere in The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representations (eds) Nicolas Bancel et al (New York & London: Routledge, 2014), p.266.
[720] Original Author Unknown, Funeral Home Record for Ota Benga https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/media_player?mets_filename=evm00002172mets.xml# (accessed 4 June 2018)

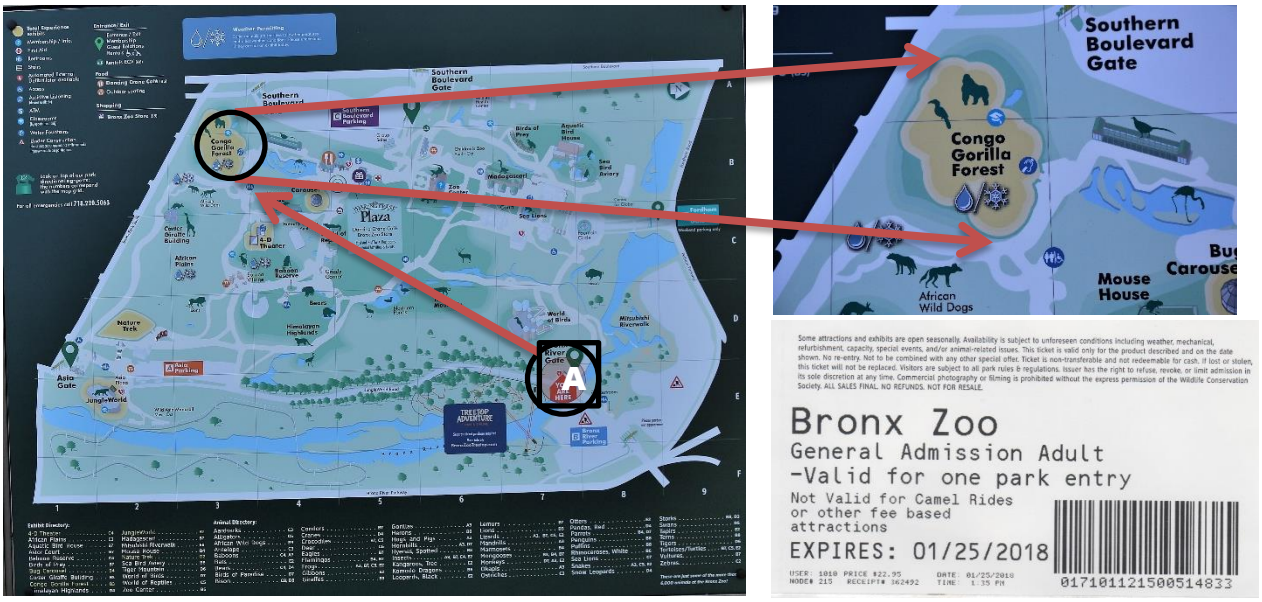
4.3.1 GOING TO AMERICA TO TRACK THE FOOTSTEPS OF OTA BENGA THE CONGOLESE 'PYGMY' AT THE BRONX ZOO IN NEW YORK CITY

In the New York winter of Thursday, 25 January 2018, I set myself on a journey to track the footsteps of Benga all the way from Cape Town to the Bronx Zoo in New York and the Museum on Natural History to collect any physical evidence of a man whose fate was made to hang in balance in this Metropolitan city. In New York, I defied the unforgiving cold weather and ice frozen waters of the city and took a subway from Sterling Street Brooklyn to the Bronx uptown and when I arrived at Pelham Park Way on the green line, I had to make it on foot through the Bronx community, where Benga would have been driven through in 1906. As I walk I wonder to myself as to whether Benga knew where he was being taken to when as was recorded by Bridges that "in the late summer of 1906 Verner reached New York with Ota Benga and a young chimpanzee. What long-term plans he had for the Pygmy does not appear, but he approached Hornaday about boarding the chimpanzee in the park and somehow Ota Benga got included in the deal."[721] I also wonder whether he (Benga) had given consent to this deal.

After a long walk, I arrived at the main entrance **(A)** of the Zoo and proceeded to the ticket sales office where I meet two zoo staff members, who neither knew nor had any knowledge about the story of Ota Benga. Since I mentioned the Congo to one of them, he provided me with the map [Fig.162] of the zoo and referred me to the Congo Gorilla

[721] William Bridges, Gathering of Animals: An Unconventional History of the New York Zoological Society (United Sates of America: The University of Chicago Press, 1966), p.224.

Forest exhibit [Fig.163], where he thought I might find what I was looking for. I purchased my ticket [Fig.164] and walked through to almost the end of the Zoo, because that is where the Gorilla Forest is located.



From left to top right and bottom: Fig.162 Photograph of the Illustrated Map of the Bronx Zoo. Fig.163 Close up of the Map showing the Congo Gorilla Forest. Fig.164 Bronx Zoo ticket. Photographs by Wandile Kasibe.

On my way to the Congo Gorilla Forest I passed the bisons, sea lions, birds, ducks on frozen waters, rhinos and other crawling things. All this time it felt as if Benga was there with me, directing every footstep and at times asking me to stop and pay attention to the semi dry and green trees, frozen grass covered with patches of frozen ice, small bushes and shrubs, because these are places he was forced to hide in when the frenzy New Yorkers gawked and wanted to poke him day in and day out when he was released from the cage and made to wander in the zoo with the zoo keeper keeping an eye on him.

From left to right: Fig 165 Photo of the way to the Congo Gorilla Forest. Fig.166 A photo of a sign post to the Congo Gorilla Forest. Photographs by Wandile Kasibe

After a long walk, following signs [Fig.165 & Fig.166] that pointed in the direction of the Congo Gorilla Forest, I arrived at what seemed to be the entry into Congo Gorilla Forest. I looked for signs and clues of an African Diaspora whose poignant story drew me to this zoo. At the first exhibit, I found neither his name nor his Mbuti tribe, but only a story about how a team of people was involved in saving the life of Gorillas in the Congo. The inner voice beckoned me to proceed, following the path that took me to what seemed to be the semi dark dungeon and cave located under the row of the mixture of dry and green trees. I looked around and could not find his trace and I started to wonder whether he was here in this Zoo in the first place, but where else could he have been?

The trail takes me to the first set of Gorillas behind a think glass [Fig.167], which once in a while come out to pick up things on the ground, scratch on themselves and frolic on the dried painted wood and man made diorama.

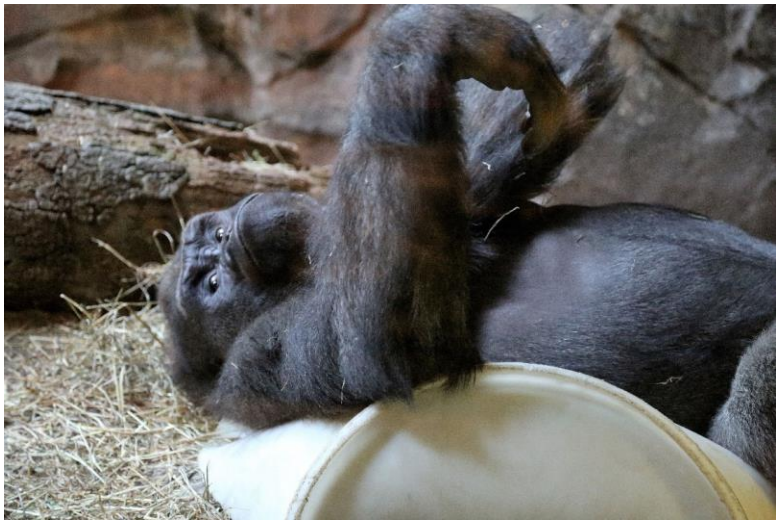


Fig.167 Photo of a Gorilla in the Congo Gorilla Forest at the Bronx Zoo. Photograph by Wandile Kasibe

I looked around at what seemed to be the content of various exhibitions about the Gorillas, environment and the team that was involved in the work. Just before I exited the space I arrived at what seemed to be another display entitled “Mountain Gorillas Through Time” [Fig.168], with a timeline that includes specific dates from 1840s right through to early 2000.

Fig.168 Puplic display of the time line at the Bronx Zoo. Photograph by Wandile Kasibe

I stood there fixing my eyes on every detail, trying to locate any textual of photographic reference to the story of Ota and his presence at the Zoo, but to my disappointment, I could not find any reference. It strike me quite significantly to notice that there is a '1906' gap that is unaccounted for between 1890 and 1914 in the timeline [Fig.169]. 1906 is key for it is the year when Benga set foot for the first time on premises of the zoo and also the year when the zoo started to experience an increase in the number of visitors who had come to witnessed the popular exhibit of the 'Pygmy' in a cage, when the story broke out in the newspapers. But where is 1906?

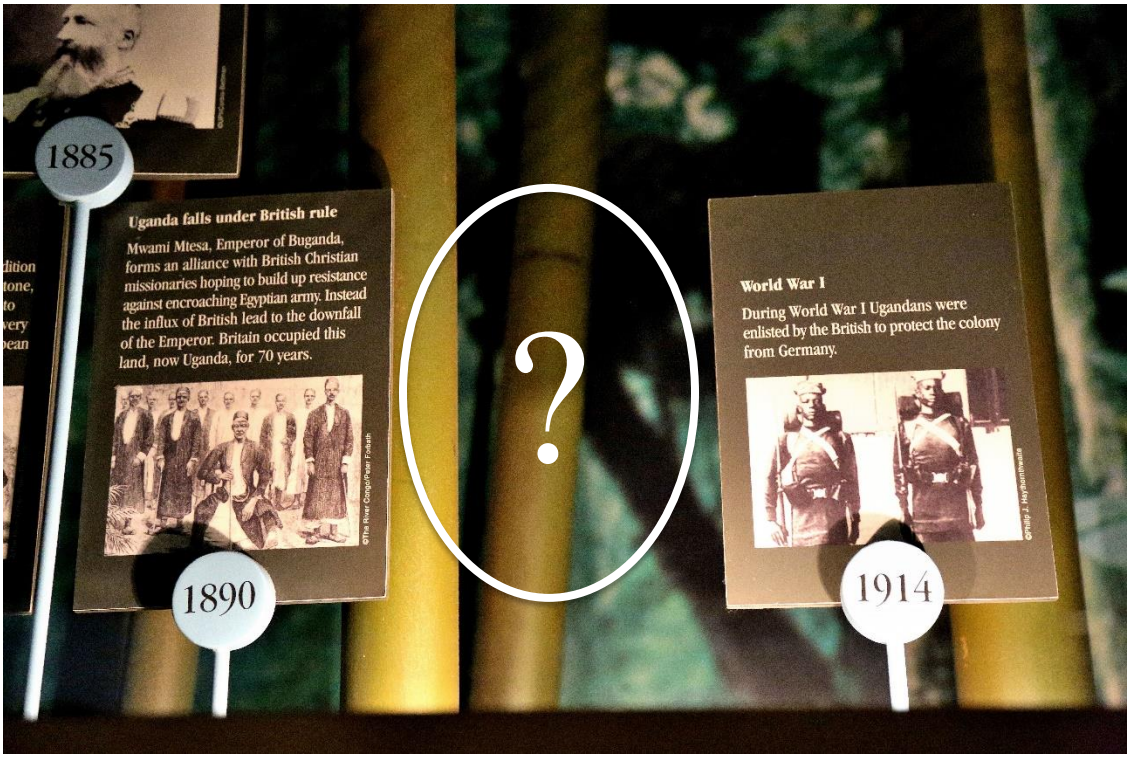


Fig.169 Close up of the time line of the public display at the Bronx Zoo

Whilst the timeline makes reference to random incidents e.g. "[in 1971] Adi Amin becomes President…[in 1974] Mobutu [Seseseko] brings Mohammed Ali and George Foreman to Congo for a highly publicized fight. Hundred of political prisoners are held in the prison located underneath the stadium. Mobutu pays each fighter $5 million for the fight…1975 International Ban on Trade in endangered species…[Fig.170]"[722]

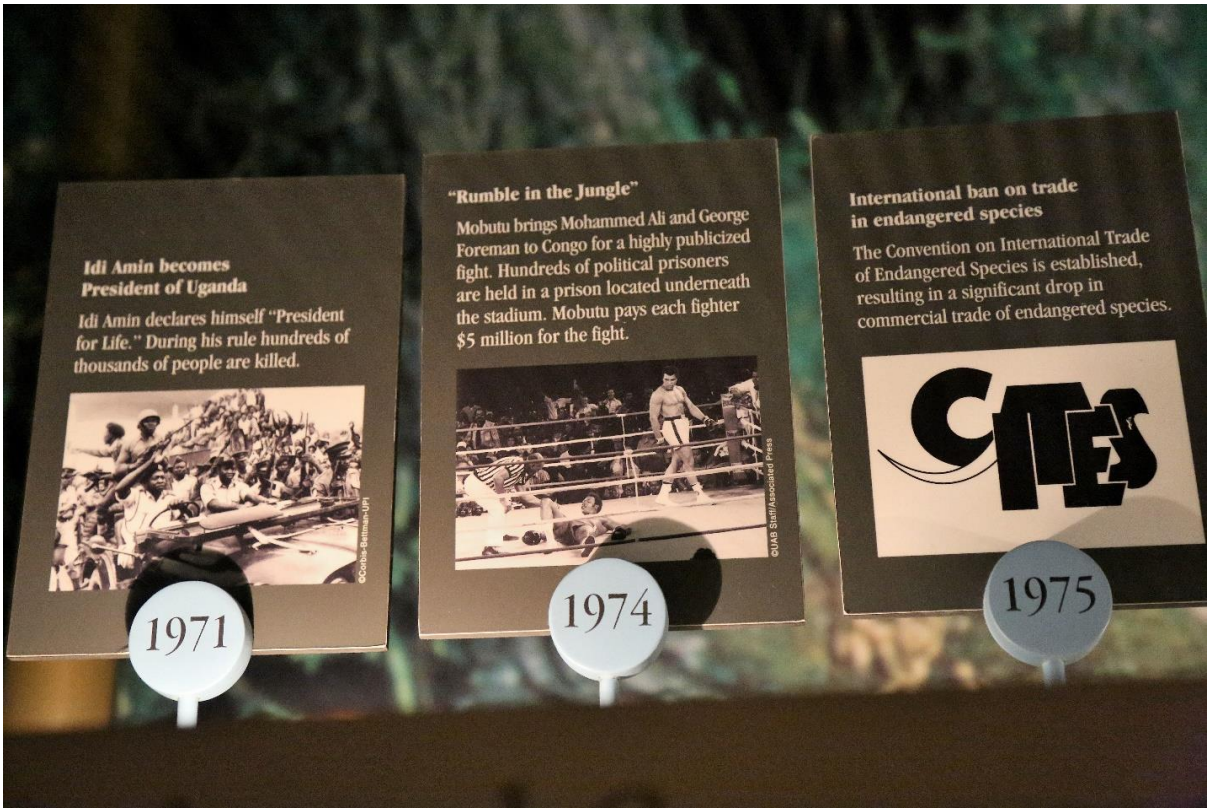


Fig.170 Close up of the time line at the Bronx Zoo Public Display. Photograph by Wandile Kasibe

Whilst I could not see the direct connection between the title of the display exhibit "Mountains Gorillas Through Time" and the aforementioned incidents of Amin, Seseseko, Ali etc, it sparked my curiosity to ask as to why would the zoo have

[722] Bronx Zoo, Mountain Gorrillas Through Time (exhibition display)

references to these random incidents and yet chooses not to make any gestures to reference the story of Benga in 1906. Was it because of the shameful nature of this incident that the zoo had now decided not erase from its public display? Or was it a complete human error that such a moment that caused public discomfort which resulted to protests by black clergymen and even escalated to the Mayor of the city and courts, was left out? Was there perhaps, a conspiracy of silence on the side of the Zoo?

In the absence of any public explanation on some of these concerns, I went further to the Education Department of the Zoo, to establish if I would be able to speak to someone who might shared some light on these questions and it was underwhelming to notice that neither the two staff members of the Education department had any knowledge of why would the Zoo leave out such a significant part of its history. I then went further to email [Appendix O] the Zoo.

What does the disappearance of the story of Ota Benga in the public narrative of the Bonx Zoo mean and what are the ramifications of this apparent erasure? In the bigger scheme of things this reflects notions of power, control and censorship, for example what would it mean for the Zoo to acknowledge publicly of its involvement in such an inhamane act of exhibiting another human being for 'scientific' purposes of showing the link between black Africans and live animals? Though one can almost understand the ethical implications of what such acknowledgement would mean, but does the exclusion of Benga's narrative in the timeline of the Zoo absolve the institution from its racist past?

On 11 February, I travelled to Lynchburg, Virginia where Benga ended his life in March 1916 and whose body is still buried in an unmarked grave [Fig.171]. It was quite

unsettling for me to realize that Benga's tragic passing epitomizes many lives of blacks whose lives had been exterminated and bodies gone missing and buried in unmarked graves in the country whose racism was embalmed through race theories of Social Darwinism, museum displays, zoos and world fairs. Somewhere, under those trees, among those gravestones, in some unmarked location there lie the mortal remains of an African Diaspora, whose sad story still touches us today.

Fig.171 Photo of a grave site in Virginia, Lynchberg where Ota Benga's unmarked grave is believed to be located. Photograph by Wandile Kasibe

As I walked through the gravesite, I could not stop the feeling that, what if Benga's body is not there, but soon after his burial was exhumed in the cover of the night and sent

back to scientific institutions for race 'science'? What if we are looking for Benga in the wrong place? And how will we ever find out when there are so many nameless skulls of Africans across the American museums. What we know though in the fact that, he died in Lynchburg for a plaque [Fig.172] has been erected to immortalize his name, perhaps to signal the beginning of a new chapter in a life of an African who in 1906 made headlines in New York and seen by more than 40 000 visitors who came to be entertained by him at the Bronx, but at the moment of his death, died alone yearning for home and whose body cannot be located todate. The plaque remains one of the few tangible evidence erected to retell the haunting story of an African 'Pygmy'.

What boggles my mind as I stood infront of the plaque reading the inscriptions is the question: why this similar plaque could not be erected in St Louis, at the Bronx Zoo, the Museum of Natural History and many other places he had been to remind our world of the dehumanizing deeds that should never be repeated.

Fig.172 Plaque dedicate in remembrance of Ota Benga in Lynchburg, Virginia

To allow the shame to sit heavily in the conscience of the 'civilized' world and Newkirk puts it "at the presumed summits of civilization, [where] cruelty was cloaked in civility and a brooding darkness was

hailed as light."[723] And to realize the 'truth', that "while Benga was being exhibited in a monkey house cage and El Negro's stuffed body was also still on display at the Darder museum in Spain.

At the confluence of the narrative of these African Diasporas and many others, lies the European and western idea to convert race "science" into a global epistemological framework and sociological discourse that would for centuries dictate the rules of the socio-cultural and political order of the world that was hostile to these Diaspora dead. Their narrative and continuity of grief became what Brian Michael Murphy describes as "…the symbol around which various forms of affect congealed in a critical historical juncture of 1992"[724] that marked the turn of a century. It is this congealment solidifying itself at the apex of the "Darker Side of Modernity", represented by the museological institution that jettisons us to face another dimension of intergenerational trauma perpetuated by hundreds of European audiences young and old who lined up in the anthropological, Natural History and other forms of museums to entertain themselves with the stuffed, castrated bodies of black Africans in a highly politicised historical moments of black identities on the Global politics.

I call it intergenerational because the tendency and attitude to associate black people with monkeys has not changed and the discussed incidents prove the point that such attitude is still very much intact in museums and institutions of 'science' today, in fact it's

[723] Pamela Newkirk, Spectacle: The Astonishing Life of Ota Benga (?: HarperCollins Publishers, 2016), p.2.
[724] Brian Michael Murphy, Banyoles Loves You El Negro, Dont Go: Affect Commodities and the Repatriation of El Negro (Unpublished Thesis Degree Master of Arts The Ohio State University, 2005), p.ii.

part of a global network of processes that were aimed at institutionalizing racism as a standard.

The fact that this institutionalization of racism still exists and intact challenges us to ask the question: what is to be done?

4.4 Recent Incidents where Blacks were associated with Monkeyness: Continuities of colonial pasts

A century later after the association and caging of Benga with of an orangutan, the world and its institutions are still suffering from similar patterns of racism. We were shocked into disbelief in July 2013, by the troubling news that the Italian Minister of Integration, Dr Cecile Kyenge, [Fig.173] had bananas thrown at her at a rally in Cervia, Italy, after she was likened to an orangutan by Senator Roberto Calderoli [Fig.174], who is reported by Holly Yan to have said: “I love animals -- bears and wolves, as everyone knows -- but when I see the pictures of Kyenge, I cannot but think of, even if I'm not saying she is one, the features of an orangutan."[725] Though an apology was tendered after a public outcry, it is shocking to observe that such racist beliefs are still current and deeply held by people, influencing modern thinking.

Left to right: Fig.173 Minister Cecile Kiyenge Fig.174. Senator Roberto Calderoli. Image courtesy of RIPRODUZIONE RISEVATA

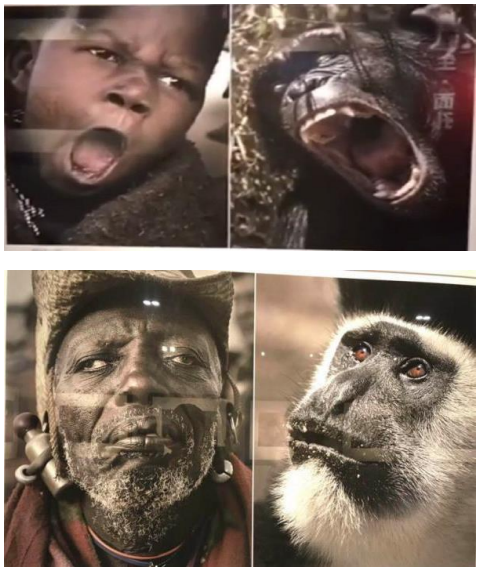
[725] Holly Yan, Lauren Russell and Boriana Milanova, Bananas thrown at Italy's first black minister Cecile Kyenge, 2013 http://edition.cnn.com/2013/07/28/world/europe/italy-politics-racism, [accessed 30 August 2013].

In July 2017, Penny Sparrow, described black people who went to celebrate the New Year at the beach as monkeys, "these monkeys that are allowed to be released on New year's Eve And new year's day on to public beaches town etc obviously have no education what so ever so to allow them loose is inviting huge dirt and troubles and discomfort to others. I'm sorry to say I was amongst the travellers and all I saw were black on black skins what a shame. I do know some wonderful thoughtful black people. This lot of monkeys just don't want to even try. But think they can voice opinions about statute and get way dear oh dear. From now I shall address the blacks of South Africa as monkeys as I see the cute little wild monkeys do the same pick drop and litter…"[726] This caused a huge uproar in South Africa and led to Sparrow being fined by a court of law. There are many of similar racist incidents that have angered South Africans into action but I mention this one to show example.

In October 2017, Hubei Provincial Museum in China opened a photographic exhibition entitled *This is Africa* which according to Russell Goldman and Adam Wu, "...juxtaposed images of wild African animals with black African people [Fig 175 & Fig 176], after complaints that the display was racist"[727] This exhibition created a public outcry on social media, after the Nigeria visitor Edward E. Duke had put the video he had taken of the exhibition online which had the following caption, "首都博物馆 the capital museum in Wuhan, China put pictures of a particular race next to wild animals why? Are they the

[726] Penny Sparrow, Its just the facts – Penny Sparrow breaks her silence http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/its-just-the-facts-penny-sparrow-breaks-her-silence-20160104 (accessed 22 July 2017)
[727] Russell Goldman and Adam Wu, Chinese Museum Pulls Exhibit Comparing Animals to Black People, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/13/world/asia/china-racist-museum-exhibit.html (accessed 31 October 2018)

only race to have impoverished looking."[728] Though the exhibition received extreme condemnation from the African community, it also created differing views on social media:



Top to bottom: Fig.175 and Fig.176 Images of Africans being juxtaposed with animals at the Hubei Provincial Museum's photographic exhibition entitled "This is Africa".

"I lived in China and witnessed the discrimination and racism against darker skinned people by most of Cbinese people. There is no excuse. 99% of their body washes have skin whiteners. A very ignorant population. Don't let them fool you. Visit their country to know."[729] The exhibit "…belongs to Chinese photographer Yu Huiping [its intention is] to "give visitors a sense of 'primitive life' in Africa through the interplay of humans, animals and nature."[730]

In January 2018, Hennes & Mauritz (H&M), a retail company based in Sweden, advertised an image of a black kid with a hoodie written on it "Coolest Monkey in the

[728] Ismail Akwei, Chinese museum pulls down 'racist' exhibits comparing african to animals, http://www.africanews.com/2017/10/17/chinese-museum-pulls-down-racist-exhibits-comparing-africans-to-animals/ (accessed 31 October 2018)
[729] Millydred Maps, Comments, https://nextshark.com/chinese-museum-sparks-outrage-comparing-african-people-wild-animals-art-exhibit/ (accessed 31 October 2018)
[730] Ismail Akwei, Chinese museum pulls down 'racist' exhibits comparing african to animals, http://www.africanews.com/2017/10/17/chinese-museum-pulls-down-racist-exhibits-comparing-africans-to-animals/ (accessed 31 October 2018)

Jungle" [Fig.177] and that of a white kid written on it "Mangrove Jungle, specialist survival expect…"[731] [Fig.178]

From left to right: Fig.177 Photo of the black kid wearing a hoodie with the following inscription "Coolest Monkey…in the Jungle". Fig.178 White kid wearing a hoodie with the following "Mangrove Jungle…Survival Expert…" https://chicagocrusader.com/hm-slammed-for-racism-after-showing-black-boy-in-coolest-monkey-in-the-jungle-hoodie/

The inscriptions on both hoodies of a black child and a white child created social media debates invoking different sentiments from the public, angering most people whilst other found it to be 'cool'. In the midst of the debacle, Serena Arianela, comments, "…this is inappropriate, offensive, and racist. Why is the white kid "a jungle survivor" and the black kid the "coolest monkey in the jungle"? How do you think this is okay REMOVE this and the clothing piece. This is completely distasteful!..."[732] whilst others expressing opinions that, "there's a White Supremacist who works for H&M who thought it was funny to make a black boy model a hoodie that said "Coolest Monkey In The Jungle"[733]. And "Y'all can feel how y'all feel about the h&m hoodie situation, I thought the hoodie was cute…sue me."[734]

[731] Inscription on the hoodie https://chicagocrusader.com/hm-slammed-for-racism-after-showing-black-boy-in-coolest-monkey-in-the-jungle-hoodie/
[732] Selene Arianela, https://twitter.com/ArianelaSelene [accessed 11 January 2018]
[733] SAYOY @thesavoyshow, H&M Jungle Hoodie controvercy (debate) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kqO9YCNKjPU [accessed 11 January 2018]
[734] Prince @princemar H&M Jungle Hoodie controvercy (debate) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kqO9YCNKjPU [accessed 11 January 2018]

In a highly politically charged environment mired in the atmosphere of the centuries' long history of institutionalized racism, the H&M controversy hit the nerve of a modernity that is haunted by the ghosts of the racist past in the present. It's trending on social media, backlashing at H&M and labelling it as a racist company that lacks sensitivity on the historicity of race and representation in the colonial enterprise. Its juxtaposition of a black child as a "coolest monkey" and a white child as a "jungle survivor", sparked even bigger debates about the intention of the company, thus tarnishes its image. In a brief statement, the company apologized for it calls the 'mistake':

> "we understand that many people are upset about the image of the children's hoodie. We, who work at H&M can only agree.
>
> We're deeply sorry that the picture was taken, and we also regret the actual print. Therefore, we've not only removed the image from our channels, but also the garment from our products offering.
>
> It's obvious that our routines haven't been followed properly. This is without any doubt. We'll thoroughly investigate why this happened to prevent this type of mistake from happening again."[735]

[735] Lindsey Bever, H&M apologises for showing black child wearing a 'monkey in the jungle' sweatshirt https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/business/wp/2018/01/08/hm-apologizes-for-showing-black-child-wearing-a-monkey-in-the-jungle-sweatshirt/?utm_term=.54098bb4dbfa (accessed 11 Jannuary 2018)

Whilst the apology has been rendered most felt that the apology was not enough. Some went as far as embellishing the black kid with a crown and with the writing above his head “King of the World” [Fig.179] and on his hoodie “Coolest King in the World” [Fig.180] to make him feel better. In his comment Rappy P. Diddy writes, “Put some respect on it!! When you look at us make sure you see royalty and super natural God sent glory!! Anything else is disrespectful.”[736]

From left to right: Fig.179 The photograph of the boy with a photo edited gold crown placed on his head. Fig.180 painted image of the boy written inscription on his painted hoody ‘coolest King in the World’ https://ngpapers.com.ng/despite-hm-apology-lebron-james-diddy-the-weeknd-and-more-cut-ties-with-the-brand/

Amina Agyeman, takes the argument to link it to the story of Ota Benga, whose story we have discussed at length, “H&M @hm YOURE CANCELED. When you know about Ota Benga’s story, things like this enrage you even more. Don’t think we’re not onto your racist propaganda. It just blows my mind how often big corporations wanna try us everyday.”[737] To Agyeman, the question is: how is this association of the black kid with a monkey different from that of Ota Benga, Sarah Baartman and many other cases where black bodies found themselves being cast out of humanity as animals. How for

[736] Diddy @Diddy https://ngpapers.com.ng/despite-hm-apology-lebron-james-diddy-the-weeknd-and-more-cut-ties-with-the-brand/ [accessed 11 January 2018]
[737] Amina Agyeman, Fashion brand H&M apologizes for ad of black boy in 'Coolest Monkey' hoodie http://www.africanews.com/2018/01/08/fashion-brand-hm-apologizes-for-ad-of-black-boy-in-coolest-monkey-hoodie/ [accessed 11 January 2018]

example is this association different from the image of a blind being manacled with a monkey with an incription written on the board placed infrom of him, “Whe Shall we too meet again” [Fig. 181 & 182]

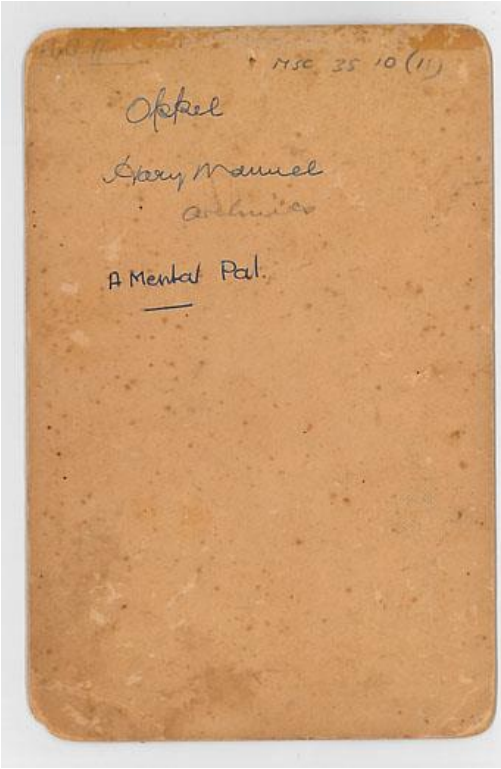
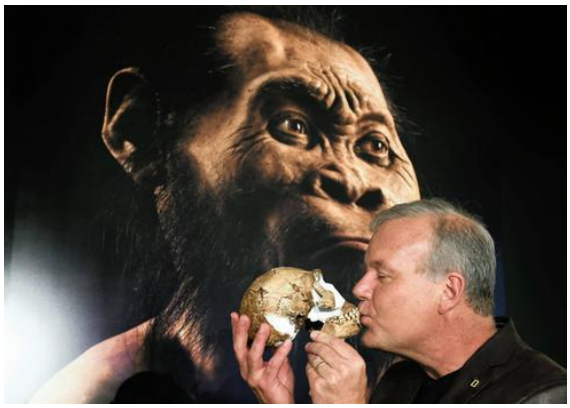


Fig.181 An Image of a blind man identified as ‘A Mental Pal’ manacled with a monkey with a board placed at his feet with the following inscription: “When Shall We Too Meet Again”.
Fig.182 Back side of the image of a blind man identified as “A Mental Pal” manacled with a monkey. Courtesy of Robben Island Museum

His being chained with a monkey firstly captures the flawed colonial mentality that blacks are closer to the animals than they are to ‘modern human’. Though at the time of the acquisition of this photograph there was no further description given about the context in which the photograph was taken, but it would be naïve of us to ignore the racial undertones that the photograph contains and the mockery that is making of the black man. In the context of this study, this image visually captures with precision the

white supremacist perception of ‘black inferiority’ and perceived ‘white superiority’. It sharply invokes the dichotomies of ‘self’ and ‘other’, center and the periphery, because in the photograph the black man is chained with a monkey to register an idea of his ‘inferiority’ and ‘outsider’ to the human family. By now we know this association of blacks to monkeys comes from a long European and white supremacist tradition of justifying scientific racism for political gains and control of resources.

And then there was Lee Berger’s recent discovery of Homo Naledi [Fig.183], an extinct species of hominid which sparked renewed political debates and sharp contradictions about the logic of human origin. The discovery was met with immediate outcry by senior political leaders and researchers who argued that this is an old colonial and apartheid attempt to associate black Africans with monkeys and orangutans which circulated on social media [Fig.184] with some racist undertones that associate black leaders such as Robert Mugabe, Naledi Pandor and Jacob Zuma with the facial expression of the hominid, the emphasis was



Top to bottom: Fig.183 Lee Berger holding and kissing the replica of skeletal remain of the Humo Naledi Hominid with a reconstructed image of the hominid in the background. Source: http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/gauteng/homo-naledi-the-race-of-it-all-1915834. Fig.184 Images of Robert Mugabe, Naledi Pandor and Jacob Zuma being liked to the Hono Naledi

put of the curved mouth as depicted in the image above. What started as a scientific discover, became a race argument with scientific argument of the evolution of the human species on one hand and the race-based discourses on the other, to suggest that race does still matter in South Africa. But what also sparked interest was the discussion taken by Berger and the museum management to exhibit this supposedly African human ancestor in the Natural History museum without any consideration of what this would mean in the broader socio-political and cultural schema.

By now we know for sure where this tradition of associating the African 'subjects' with the animal kingdom comes from and how it travelled from the earliest voyagers, Darwinist notion of the 'missing link' into today's discourses of racial hegemonies, structural power and dominance. Whether or not the truth about our close relative still lies out there, buried deep down in the deeper crevasses of the earth marked by the passing of time, a specific socio-scientific and political question must be posed as to whether the Homo Naledi represents the "missing link" that European 'science' had mistaken the rest of black Africans?

In response to this long tradition of institutionalized racism and the need for museums to decolonize themselves Zenzile Khoisan, a Khoisan leader and activist called for the institution of the Museum Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) as the response to the question at the museum gathering on "Museums and Decolonization" held on 23 September. To take Zenzile's concept further, I argue that what we need is the actually Museum Truth, Repatriation and Restitution Commission (Museum TRRC). Based on

the principle of redressing the imbalances of the past the process of disclosure of historical truth about the involvement of the museum in the practices of race science, I argue that the Museum TRRC could be an appropriate instrument to help the museological institution deal with its colonial baggage and legacy.

In the next chapter of this study I discuss the Museum TRRC in detail.

5.0 CHAPTER FIVE

5.1 Invoking The Truth and Reconciliation (TRC) Commission's Principle of Disclosure: the Question of the Disappeared and Racialized Dead in Museums

In South Africa, these shameful museological crimes of collections of human remains of humiliated black people are only known to few elites who are either in close proximity to universities or museological resources and power, or themselves wield that power for their advantage. As it stands now, this power clearly does not lie with the masses of the people and communities to whom the mortal remains of these ancestors belong. However, power in a democracy lies with the people. This concept was defined by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who further states in the *Social Contract* that when power is usurped by the ruling elite, "the social compact is broken, and all private citizens recover by right their natural liberty, and are forced, but not bound, to obey."[738]

Public Protector Thuli Madonsela supports the importance of accountability to citizens: "It is my considered view that the character of the state envisaged in our Constitution makes accountability by those entrusted with state power central while entrenching citizen participation".[739] Madonsela continues to state that power is entrusted "in good

[738] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Constitution Society, https://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/economics/rousseau/social-contract/ch03.htm (accessed 13 November 2018)
[739] Thuli Madonsela, Address by Public Protector Adv. Thuli Madonsela at the Sanef KZN Quarterly Council Meeting, https://www.sanef.org.za/address_by_public_protector_adv-_thuli_madonsela_at_the_sanef_kzn_quarterly/ (accessed 13 November 2018)

faith with the understanding that the selected few will always act in accordance with the authority given by the people through the Constitution and laws and will put public interest first."[740] Here it is made abundantly clear that institutions are entrusted with power on behalf of the people and when that power is abused or misused, it is the responsibility of Chapter 9 institutions and citizens to hold people to account.

There is a serious gap between this understanding of the social contract as set out in the Constitution and current reality. Museums were constituted under a different rule of law, the colonial and apartheid governments, and need to be critically engaged and transformed to uphold the spirit of the new democratic laws and values, where the dignity of all citizens should be respected.

In light of this, current norms must be critiqued, specifically: who has the power to decide on how affected communities should be represented in museums? Or whether museums should keep mortal remains of family members of people who were once deemed lesser beings? And to whom do these human remains and sensitive objects belong: do they belong to the museum committees, bureaucrats, curators who often make decisions about where and how to treat these remains and objects.

How did it come to this that only the elite academics, selected community leaders, historians and specialists with exclusive access to debates about the repatriation of these individuals have been privy to information about the circumstances under which

[740] Thuli Madonsela, Address by Public Protector Adv. Thuli Madonsela at the Sanef KZN Quarterly Council Meeting, https://www.sanef.org.za/address_by_public_protector_adv-_thuli_madonsela_at_the_sanef_kzn_quarterly/ (accessed 13 November 2018)

these remains ended up in museums? In fact, they are the ones who set the rules, thus bestowing on themselves the power to decide on who should be remembered, how they should be remembered and by whom. The irony of this approach is that, whilst it seeks to operate within the purview of historical justice, it centralizes power among the few, thus marginalizing the rest of the populace who should be participating in these processes of justice and truth, as emphasized by Madonsela. What should be an open and inclusive process of investigation and examination of the museums' implication in the crimes of the past centuries has become an exclusive business of the elite.

Museums and universities have kept and maintained this status quo as it works in their favour, and this information is not shared publicly outside these carefully curated and controlled spaces of knowledge production to the 'undesired' public and ordinary citizens who will begin to pose uncomfortable questions about the colonial and unethical ethos that still informs museum practice today.

This secrecy works for museums and universities, because broader society will not fully realize the disturbing truth, that for centuries and decades museums have gawked, violated and dehumanized the remains of those who were deemed lesser beings; namely black Africans. And that museums are holding back the 'key' to the true liberation and healing of the African spirit, by keeping the African dead in their storerooms. How can Africans be truly free if their ancestors' mortal remains are still locked in colonial institutions such as museum? How will the nation heal when the psychosis that was manufactured from the race 'science' that was produced to

undermine darker races as 'sub-humans' and 'objects' of study, is still being perpetuated in museums today? The horrors of this disturbing past fermented racial stereotypes, strife and conflict, and are now concealed in anthropological museum displays and storage vaults.

The Museum TRRC will be a public moment for uncensored truth about the disappeared nameless men, women and children, the victims of a crime committed under the guise of human 'progress' and 'science', but this moment won't be blind to what Terry Bell poses as challenge which is the fact that, "one of the greatest problems with facing up to the past is to know where to start."[741] As a nation, "the journey between 1960 [Sharpeville massacre] and 1994 [Democratic dispensation] was a long and terrible one, wasteful of human life and of human potential. Yet, it was a path that everyone travelled"[742]. To restore human dignity in the museum, we have travelled from 1906 (human casting project) to 2017 (complete dismantling of the ethnographic display) on a long, rough road of years of institutionalized humiliation of indigenous Africans.

The question is not only about 'why' this humiliation happened, but also about 'where', for the place in which a crime has occurred cannot be divorced from the crime itself and the people who committed it. The crime and place share not only the act itself but also the responsibility, especially if there was a common interest. It is precisely this interface

[741] Terry Bell, Unfinished Business: South African Apartheid and Truth (South Africa: RedWorks, 2001), p.15.
[742] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report, Volume Four 1998, p.4. http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/report/finalreport/Volume%204.pdf (accessed 25 April 2018)

between the place (the museum) and the deed (collection and violations of human remains) that the Museum TRRC should uncover. Not only this, but also behind the same museum, lurks the spectre of a past that has not been fully exorcised. Its persistent shadow is reflective of the slow velocity of 'decolonization' and transformation. The Museum TRRC presents itself as that decolonial or transformative tool to address this impasse, infact it is a sine quanon in the ongoing decolonial investigative processes that are aimed at re-engineering the museological institution.

Another factor at play is the might of the law, which must align museums with the spirit of a new democratic dispensation. This presents more challenges, although the country's laws are changing, museological practice has an epistemological foundation in the colonial mentality and forms of taxonomy and classification that are unchanging. This causes a paradox, summed up by the political statement, "change of words, but unchanging deeds"[743], meaning that the museum sees the need for epistemological radical transformation, but held back by the very untransformative processes that are rooted in colonialism.

The disjuncture between the need for radical change and redress of the imbalances of the past and what is actually happening inside institutions such as museums is growing. To people who fear change and what that change might mean in the professionalization

[743] Benjamin 'Bibi' Netanyahu, Netanyahu: Israel's What's Right With the Middle East: Speaking at Davos, the Israeli Prime Minister tried to sell his country as "what's right with the Middle East https://www.thedailybeast.com/netanyahu-israels-whats-right-with-the-middle-east (accessed 1 July 2018)

of the way museums are produced, this process of re-imagination has basically meant including concepts such as decolonization and actions such as changing the organogram without any fundamental rupture from the colonial and neo-colonial museological practice which has largely been the process of ticking boxes to mesmerize funding bodies, authorities and unquestioning museum goers. In this instance only public outcry over the gross human rights violations that will exert the necessary pressure that will propel museums and government to experdite the necessary change in museums.

As I present an alternative framework through which we could effectively deal with colonial legacies in museums, my main point of critique is that the country's TRC framework had failed because it mainly conceptualized and designed to deal with what was undertood as politically related acts, and overlooked the main culprit behind whose walls 'seeds of racism' were allowed to germinate. It only focused on liberation narrative and ignored what I suggest as one of the root causes of racial tension in South Africa today, race construction perpetuated in museums.

The TRC failed to understand, the museum gave form to the ideas of racial engineering under the cover of 'scientific' research that influenced the nature of racism that was enacted on the country's socio-political landscape and led to the mass murder of African people for trophies, trade in human remains and further land disposseion. Retrospectively, Desmond Mpilo Tutu, the chair of the TRC is correct in stating that, "we could not make the journey from a past marked by conflict, injustice, oppression, and

exploitation to a new and democratic dispensation characterised by a culture of respect for human rights without coming face to face with our recent history. No one has disputed that. The differences of opinion have been about how we should deal with that past; how we should go about coming to terms with it"[744], but here I argue that even in dealing with the past, museums were totally left out of this process, whether deliberately or accidentally. It thus befits to suggest that because of this omission by the TRC, the Museum TRRC then becomes a necessary tool and methods through we rectify this identified problem.

Since the history of the museological institution in South Africa is complicit in the country's colonial and apartheid past, which was confronted through a Truth and Reconciliation Commission of 1996, established in terms of the *Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act*, No 34 of 1995, I would like to suggest that the colonial legacy of museums should be dealt with through a Museum Truth, Repatriation and Restitution Commission proposed in 2017.

To create a context for a Museum TRRC, we would need to look into the framework that created a conducive environment for testimonies to emerge in the South African TRC, which otherwise would not have been heard. There is a logic here, as the violations committed by museums are shockingly similar to those perpetrated under apartheid, as they are racially motivated crimes and disappearances of people's remains. So what was done by the TRC that we can learn from in creating a Museum TRRC, is the

[744] Desmond Mpilo Tutu, Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report RC Final Report (volume 1), p.5.

principle of disclosure and open access to the proceedings. This was done to ensure that the public is aware of what had happened and that the proceedings were simultaneously translated in various languages and later fully transcribed in a report. The TRC held its first session from 15 – 18 April in East London in 1996, chaired by Archbishop Desmond Mpilo Tutu, it then travelled around the country to hear testimonies from people. There were 17 members appointed to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and the work of the commission was divided into three areas – human rights violations, amnesty and rehabilitation/reparation.

The Archbishop broke down in tears on that first day of testimony after hearing of the horrors of the Cradock Four and PEBCO Three. Furthermore, the terrible torture of Malgas Singqokwana, murder of Mapetla Mohapi, Siphiwe Hamlet Mazwai, among many other testimonies that were brought to the TRC for the first time. These testimonies came from across the racial divide, as some were as Max du Preez reports, the "victims of the actions of the liberation movements"[745]. For example, "Karl Webber had stopped off for a drink at the Highgate hotel in East London on the 1st May 1991. A man with a *balaclava* stormed into the room and opened fire with an AK 47, five people were killed and many injured, Webber lost his left arm and most of the use of his right arm"[746] And that, "On November 8 1992, the King Williams Town golf club was attacked by four APLA guerrillas, Beth Savage was seriously injured and psychologically damaged, yet she believes the truth commission can facilitate the healing process in

[745] Max du Preez http://sabctrc.saha.org.za/tvseries/episode1/playlist.htm
[746] *Ibid*

South Africa."[747] In her testimony Beth, submits to the commission, "I would like to meet that man, that threw the grenade in an attitude of forgiveness and hope that he could forgive me too… "[748]

This watershed moment of the uncovering of truth of what had happened signalled the fragility and vulnerability of a fledgling democracy when made to face the horrors of its recent past, where unspeakable crimes were committed. When the Archbishop and the families of the victims of these gross human rights violations wept, the nation wept with them. At that moment, they carried on their shoulders the hopes and dreams of a people who had been cornered by the centuries' long history of institutionalized racism, oppression and dehumanization. The same could be said about the Museum TRRC when it has been given the attention it deserves to help the nation confronts its almost undisclosed violations committed in the name of the museological institution.

In the same way that there were horrifying disclosures by perpetrators such as Joe Mamasela, the former apartheid agent spy, Colonel Gerrie Hugo, a former military Intelligence agent among others, there are also disclosures by curators and museums personel who partook in these gross human rights violations. For example we have disclosed names of people who were involved in the curatorial processes of the now discredited Bushman Diorama and unethically acquisition of human remains.

[747] Max du Preez http://sabctrc.saha.org.za/tvseries/episode1/playlist.htm
[748] Beth Savage, http://sabctrc.saha.org.za/tvseries/episode1/playlist.htm (accessed 20 December 2018)

Similar horrors of stolen bodies, bottled human remains and collections of skulls were given momentum and cloaked in legitimacy by museological institutions. Today, they are reluctant to face the consequences of these historical crimes and institutionalized patterns of violence. As a result, museums have closed all the doors that would lead broader society to the knowledge of truth about the disappeared individuals who were either stolen from their graves, snatched at battlefields or sites of genocide. These are tainted spoils of war about which Miguel DeArce and René Gapert state, "…we know that many of the skulls in Trinity [College in Dublin] were 'gifts' from officers who took part in military campaigns in Africa against native tribes. Such a practice of taking the dead enemy's head from the battlefield and sending it back to the rear for study was naturally unknown to the natives, who were surprised by it."[749] It is these stories that remain hidden behind closed doors of museum storage vaults to which the Museum TRRC will bring our attention.

The story of Hanaku whose body cast lies in the storage lab of the University of Cape Town's Department of Anatomy at the time of the writing of this thesis. The unethically collected remains of indigenous people include as Kim Cloete states, "nine [who] were probably Khoisan people who had been captured and forced to work on a farm in Sutherland, in the Northern Cape"[750] I have argued elsewhere that "These remains were

[749] Miguel DeArce and René Gapert, History Ireland, Vol. 25, No. 2 (March–April 2017), pp. 38-41 http://www.jstor.org/stable/90005890 (accessed 1 May 2018)
[750] Kim Cloete, Khoisan skeletons to be returned home, https://www.news.uct.ac.za/article/-2018-10-12-khoisan-skeletons-to-be-returned-home (accessed 12 October 2018)

acquired by UCT during a time of extreme oppression and dehumanization of black Africans in South Africa and globally"[751]

Society will pause and take a deep breath when the names of the Khoi and the San people are revealed, on whom more than twenty body casts were made by the South African Museum under the directorship of Louis Péringuey. The story of King Hintsa whose head is believed to be in some museum storage vault.

The haunting story of Sarah Baartman and her being, as Morris puts it, "the first person of Khoisan ancestry to have the 'honour' of dissection…"[752] The accompanying account as he further records that, "the sad tale of Saartje Baartman was repeated in the 1860s. Two young San children, a boy and a girl, were brought to England in 1851 from somewhere along the Orange River (Anonymous 1852). The boy died within a few years of his arrival in England, but the girl lived until June 1864, dying at the age of about 22 years. Her body was sent to the Royal College of Surgeons where it was dissected by the English comparative and human anatomists, W.H. Flower and J. Murie (1867)."[753] And that "her skeleton was kept, and although many of the bones were destroyed during the bombing of the College in World War II, the remains that have survived now reside in the British Museum of Natural History"[754] in London.

[751] Wandile Kasibe, UCT skeletons in the cupboard not a mistake, but evidence of a colonial crime against humanity https://vernacnews.co.za/2018/10/18/uct-skeletons-in-the-cupboard-not-a-mistake-but-evidence-of-a-colonial-crime-against-humanity/ (accessed 21 December 2018)
[752] Alan G. Morris, Trophy Skulls, Museums and the San in Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen (ed) Pippa Skotness (Cape Town: Cape Town University Press, 1996), p.68.
[753] *Ibid.,* p.70.
[754] *Ibid*

Another case that will come out as recorded by Morris is that "…of the anatomised San woman happened in twentieth-century Johannesburg. The cadaver catalogue refers to this body as that of Keri Keri, a 35 year old 'Bushwoman' who died on the 15 September 1939 at the Royal South Western Hospital at Oudtshoorn, Cape Province. The cause of death was listed as septic pneumonia. Her body was transported to the Department of Anatomy at the University of the Witwatersrand, where it was dissected by the science class during November 1939."[755] Morris, further records that, "two tears previously, Keri Keri (or more correctly /Ker/Keri) had been studied in life by a team of researchers on an expedition to the junction of the Auob and Nossob rivers in the Southern Kalahari. The object of this expedition was to secure some San groups for public display, as part of the 1937 Empire Exhibition in Johannesburg and Cape Town…Dart (1937) provided a long list of /Keri/Keri's physical characteristics, her place in the clan genealogy, and her photograph, all taken from life in the Kalahari and in Johannesburg. Dart gave no explanation of how an individual from the southern Kalahari came to die in a hospital at Oudtshoorn, nor of how he managed to obtain permission to claim her body."[756] Other cases are detailed in the account by historians Ciraj Rasool and Martin Legassick, *Skeletons in the Cupboard: South African museums and the trade in human remains, 1907-1917*.

These cases are neither discussed, nor publicly known but only known by few. Another story that remains hidden is the narrative of the human remains of South Africans who had been shipped out of Africa to North America for race 'science'.

[755] Alan G. Morris, Trophy Skulls, Museums and the San in Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen (ed) Pippa Skotness (Cape Town: Cape Town University Press, 1996), p.70.
[756] *Ibid*

To bring forth more evidence to this, I now focus on the Smithsonian in Washington DC, the Museum of Natural History in New York, and the Penn Museum in Philadelphia. This may seem to be unremarkable academic research, but is a result of the openness, transparency and access to information that I saw in museological institutions and universities in the US, which is uncommon here in South Africa. For example, at the University of Cape Town I was denied access [Appendix Q], even after I had submitted the required form [Appendix R] on 9 July 2017 and all the necessary documentation. The reasons for my application to be turned down did not make sense, instead raised suspicions. A year later on 11 October 2018 the university released a press statement "to acknowledge the instances where UCT participated in injustice or unfairness"[757] of unethically acquiring the human remains of African people. The statement goes further to state that:

> "Nine individuals are from a single farm in Sutherland, Northern Cape and appear to have been removed by the owner of the farm in the 1920s and sent to UCT. These Khoisan people had been captured and forced to work as indentured labourers on the farm. (Sadly, this was a common practice in South Africa at the time.) The records accompanying one of the male skeletons indicates he may have been murdered but there is no other information about the cause of death or who might have committed the alleged murder"[758]

[757] Mamokgethi Phakeng, Restoring ancestors to their home https://www.news.uct.ac.za/article/-2018-10-11-restoring-ancestors-to-their-home (accessed 11 October 2018)
[758] *Ibid*

The acknowledgement of the Institution's involvement in the colonial injustices confirmed my assumptions, but the question that bothered me was the lack of substantial and valid reason for my application to be turned down. To me this amounts to censorship, suppression of academic freedom and expression, because I was denied an opportunity to study the primary 'data' in order to ask different questions, instead I was referred to secondary sources. On 18 October 2018 I wrote an article [Appendix S] to respond to this disclosure.

Subsequent to this, on 4 April 2019, I lodged a formal complaint [Appendix T] as I felt the decision to deny access had no basis and infringed on my academic right to access information. This experience raises questions of who has access to knowledge who does not? And it also highlights the privilege of those who control access to that knowledge in order to have monopoly over ideas in the same way that apartheid limited access to certain bodies but opened that same access to others. It is quite revealing that in my home country and at an African university that prides itself at decolonizing knowledge production, and yet the doors of that knowledge were shut and behind those doors white researchers and scientists continued to advance their knowledge through extracting samples and study the records of my African ancestors.

It is quite ironic that I had to go to America to gain access into a similar collection and records. Though I was asked to sign similar forms in America, their response to my research was different from the one I received in South Africa. It was true, as in the United States, at the Smithsonian and the Penn Museum I was shocked to come face to

face with African ancestors. I was only able to gain access as a research scholar; the wider public will never see these collections as they must know about them and request access. It will only be through testimony in a Museum TRRC or public newspaper or magazine articles that people will know about the plastic bags and white numbered boxes in which the bones of their ancestors are kept. They will not know of the missing teeth, disjointed bodies and cracks on the skulls. They will not know their ancestors have labels attached to their skulls, inscriptions engraved into the bones, and each time the bones are handled fragments chip off and fine bone dust collects in the corners of the plastic bags. If they were able to visit they might hear the voices I heard when I visited these three museums to locate some of these skeletons.

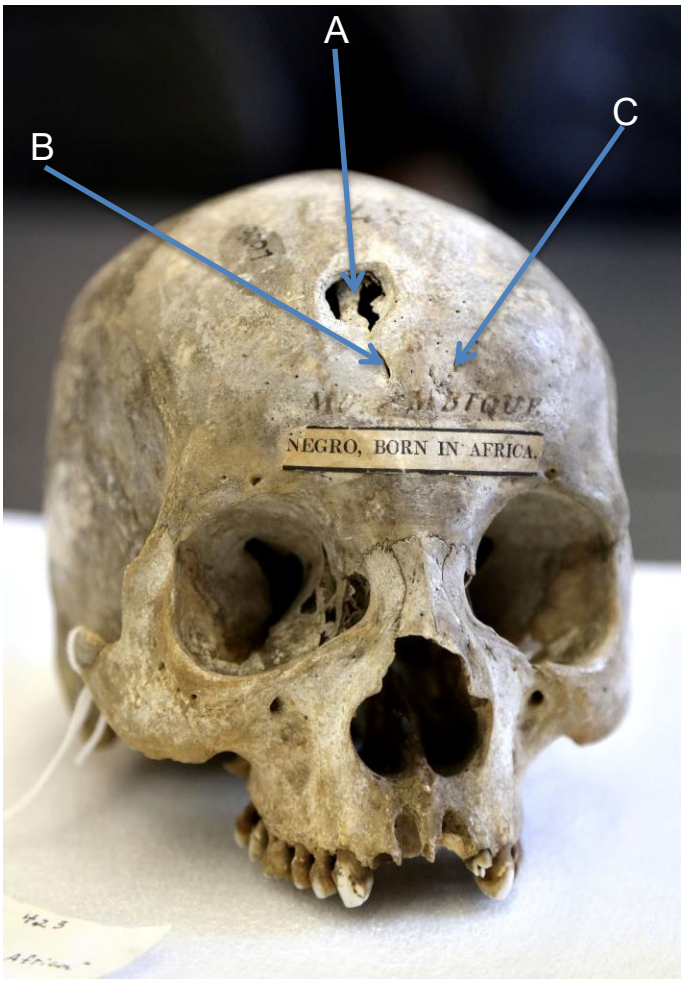
Confronted with skeletons of people who I may have direct connections to, I stood in that room of the dead with hundreds of skulls [Fig.185], "From floor to ceiling in wooden display cases, skulls looked out at me with empty holes where their eyes once were, without their names but labelled with numbers, race designations and geographical locations."[759]

At the Samuel George Morton collection, sight of these people overwhelmed me with strong emotions as I was thinking of the circumstances under which they became 'specimens' and the fact that some had died in wars, in prisons, hospitals, were robbed from their graves or snatched from people who were known in life as it was the practice at the time. One particular skull caught my eye, and I asked the curator to tell me more.

[759] Wandile Kasibe, The Skulls of Our Ancestors https://www.news24.com/Columnists/GuestColumn/the-skulls-of-our-ancestors-20180318-2 (accessed 30 March 2018)

Fig.185 An image of some of Samuel George Morton's Collection at the Pennsylvania Museum in Philadelphia, Image taken by Wandile Kasibe

It [Fig.161] had a hole in the forehead, with "*MOZAMBIQUE*" inscribed into the bone and finally a paper label "NEGRO, BORN IN AFRICA". There was no name, this ancestor was just labelled and tagged with numbers, a race designation and a geographical location of the site of collection.



From left to right: Fig.186 A photo of a human skull with a hole in the forehead, with "*MOZAMBIQUE*" inscribed into the bone and a paper label "NEGRO, BORN IN AFRICA" located at the Samuel George Morton's Collection at the Pennsylvania Museum in Philadelphia. Fig.187 Is a close up of the hole in the forehead. Photos taken by Wandile Kasibe

I asked what might have happened to this person. The curators, Janet Monge and Paul Wolf Mitchell suggested that it looked as if the person was hit with a sharp object. This resulted in a hole in the skull [**A**] and two cracks [**B&C**]. It was likely this was not a bullet hole, and it is not known whether these injuries occurred in the context of intertribal battles or anti-colonial wars. It is also unclear whether these were fatal or survivable head injuries. I sent the same image to Catarina Simao in Lisbon and she

observes that, “It seems that this poor man had a hole in his front head but didn't die immediately from it, giving time for the wound to start to close.”[760]

This skull is identified as ‘423’ from Southern Africa and is one of only three Mozambique skulls in the Morton collection. In notes on specimen identification problems, “This is definitely a Morton, and there were no problems with the Mozambique skulls in the 1937 notes. We have a definite scan of 423 and 237 is a cast.”[761]

In almost all the skulls in the Morton collection, the names of individuals are not recorded, but instead are inscribed into the bone and/or stuck onto their skulls with fading paper labels with familiar derogatory terms such as “Hottentots”, “Kaffir” that Morton understood his ‘subjects’ by. This unavailability of names indicates the nature of the museological practice, that the names of the individuals were not important to the people who collected them, but what were mainly sought after were the human remains for anatomical study. In this practice, people were simply reduced to numbered and labelled ‘representatives’ of their race, and fixed in geographical space. But what would it mean for people to know the specific names of the persons with whom they may have direct ancestry and connection to? Are these details contained in the bills of lading and museum archives in records of this global trade in human remains? I then asked to see ancestors from South Africa, and these three [Fig.188] were brought forth.

[760] Catarina Simao, Mozambique skull, Jul 21, 2019, 12:49 PM
[761] Notes on the inventory list of the Penn Museum collections.

Fig.188 The image of the three human skeleton from Southern Africa that are currently at the Penn Museum in Philadelphia. Photo taken by Wandile Kasibe

The tags attached to the three skulls indicate that they are from Southern Africa. None of them have any names of the individuals attached to them or the reason/s for their death. Often their ages were estimated rather than known. The following information about the skulls is incorporated here, and is unedited to provide more information about these human remains.

My presence at the Penn museum called forth the silenced voices of the Africans whose narratives and memory linger in the shadows of the museums of the global North, carefully secured in scientific ‘collections’, behind locked doors and deep in their vaults.

Through this primary research and perseverance, I was able to visit in person to see the bones of the ancestors held hostage for a centuries long practice of research and racial 'science'. Between us there is an African connection, I am connected to them through African heritage and culture. I am bringing their stories back to Africa. It's a form of repatriating their stories, an unofficial repatriation. I have done without permission from the gatekeepers. It is a revolution in itself that I am bringing this out, making it known to the African people who are connected to them, for communities to know their lost people are locked in museums elsewhere.

This is their lost heritage, their stolen identify. So that their stories come home to Africa so that they could be remembered and it is known that they are there across the waters waiting to come home. They are not people alone in these collections, missing persons ripped out of time and place to be studied in museums. No, they are ancestors who have living relatives who would be grief-stricken to know where they were. So perhaps this repatriating their stories can begin by calling their memory, calling their relations, and then calling them home physically to rest.

Upon visiting the Smithsonian in Washington DC, I discovered that five skeletons [Fig.189 and Fig.190] of Africans were dug out of their graves in Port Alfred and sent to the Smithsonian by John Hewitt in what was called "skull for a skull' exchange deal detailed in the correspondence letters, accessions card and memorandum [Fig.191, Fig.192, Fig.193, Fig.194, Fig.195 & Fig.196] between the Albany Museum in Grahamstown, now Makhanda and the Smithsonian Institution. There were more, but

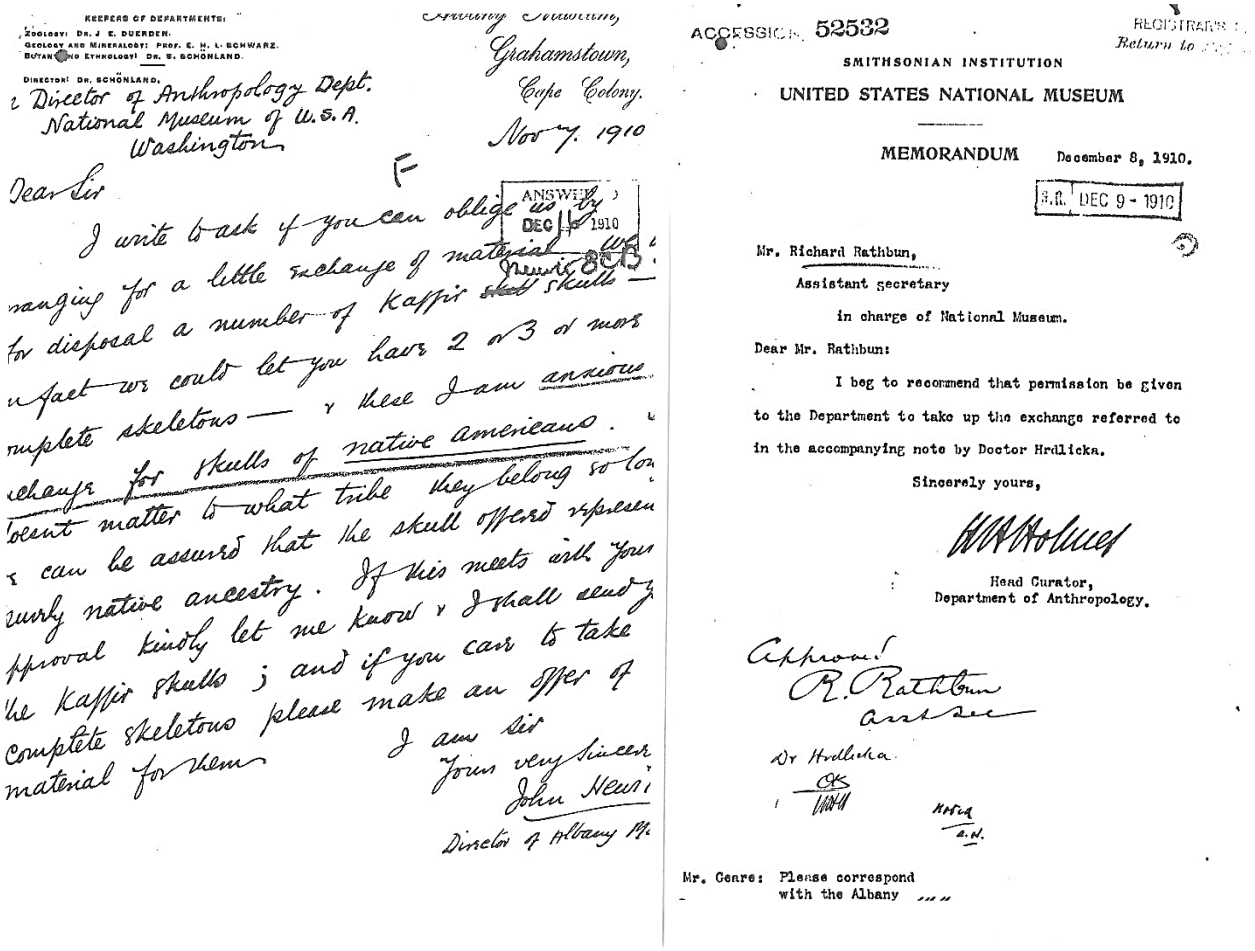
our evidence shows these five individuals. In return, the Albany Museum received fifteen Peruvian heads from the Smithsonian Institution in 1911. And “looking at my people, they are being brought to me in boxes and it felt as if they were begging me to take them home and that each time the door opens, they wish it is someone coming for them, hoping this is the day, the moment when they are finally free. I could hear the cries of our people and my only regret is that I came back to South Africa without them.”[762]

Perhaps if people knew where their ancestors were held, they would cry out for their return to their people so they could be buried with dignity so that they might finally rest in peace. I include the invoice [Fig.194], to substantiate this claim and have confirmed that the Peruvian skulls are currently in the care of the Albany Museum.

[762] Wandile Kasibe, The Skulls of Our Ancestors https://www.news24.com/Columnists/GuestColumn/the-skulls-of-our-ancestors-20180318-2 (accessed 30 March 2018)

Fig.189 The Image of the skeletons of the five individuals currently at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington DC. Photograph taken by Wandile Kasibe

Fig.190 The leg bone from one of the five individuals, being cut into two for scientific study. Photograph taken by Wandile Kasibe



KEEPERS OF DEPARTMENTS:
Zoology: Dr. J. E. DUERDEN.
Geology and Mineralogy: Prof. E. H. L. SCHWARZ.
Botany and Ethnology: Dr. S. SCHÖNLAND.
DIRECTOR: DR. SCHÖNLAND.

Director of Anthropology Dept.
National Museum of U.S.A.
Washington

Albany Museum,
Grahamstown,
Cape Colony.
Nov 7. 1910

Dear Sir

I write to ask if you can oblige us by arranging for a little exchange of material for disposal a number of Kaffir skulls — in fact we could let you have 2 or 3 of most complete skeletons — & these I am anxious exchange for skulls of native americans. Recent matter to what tribe they belong so long can be assured that the skull offered represents purly native ancestry. If this meets with your approval kindly let me know & I shall send the Kaffir skulls; and if you care to take complete skeletons please make an offer of material for them

I am Sir
Yours very sincerely
John Hewitt
Director of Albany Mu.

ANSWERED DEC 1 1910

Newitt 865

ACCESSION 52532

REGISTRAR'S
Return to

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

UNITED STATES NATIONAL MUSEUM

MEMORANDUM December 8, 1910.

A.A. DEC 9 - 1910

Mr. Richard Rathbun,
Assistant secretary
in charge of National Museum.

Dear Mr. Rathbun:

I beg to recommend that permission be given to the Department to take up the exchange referred to in the accompanying note by Doctor Hrdlicka.

Sincerely yours,

W W Holmes

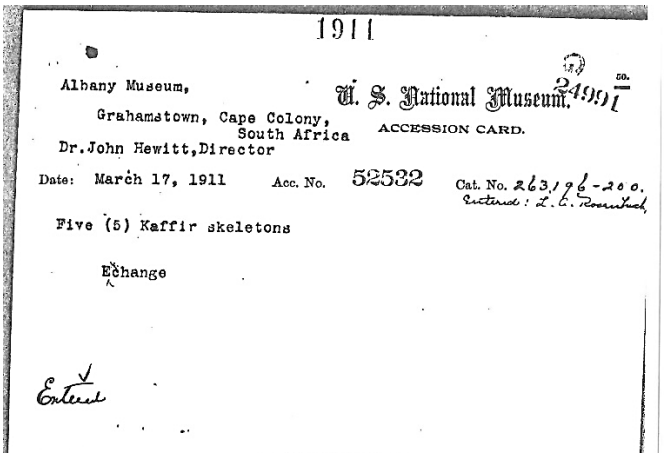
Head Curator,
Department of Anthropology.

Approved
R. Rathbun
Asst Sec

Dr Hrdlicka
OK
WWH

Mr. Ceare: Please correspond with the Albany "

From left to right: Fig.191 & Fig.192 One of the earliest letters written by John Hewitt to initiate the discussion that led to the exchange of human remains between the Smithsonian and the Albany Museums. Correspondence on the right hand side written by Aleš Hrdlička, the then Director of the Smithsonian Museum of Natural History recommending that the exchange be accepted.



1911

Albany Museum,
Grahamstown, Cape Colony,
South Africa
Dr. John Hewitt, Director

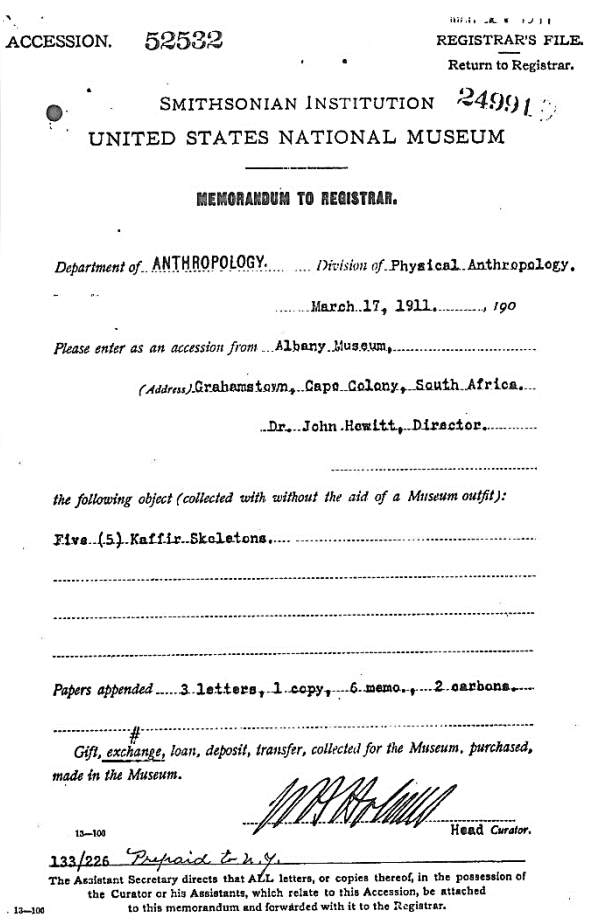
U. S. National Museum. 24991
ACCESSION CARD.

Date: March 17, 1911 Acc. No. 52532 Cat. No. 263196-200.
Entered: L. C. Rowlett

Five (5) Kaffir skeletons

Exchange

Entered



ACCESSION. 52532

REGISTRAR'S FILE.
Return to Registrar.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION 24991
UNITED STATES NATIONAL MUSEUM

MEMORANDUM TO REGISTRAR.

Department of ANTHROPOLOGY. *Division of* Physical Anthropology.

March 17, 1911, *190*

Please enter as an accession from Albany Museum,

(Address) Grahamstown, Cape Colony, South Africa.

Dr. John Hewitt, Director.

the following object (collected with without the aid of a Museum outfit):

Five (5) Kaffir Skeletons.

Papers appended 3 letters, 1 copy, 6 memo., 2 carbons.

Gift, exchange, loan, deposit, transfer, collected for the Museum, purchased, made in the Museum.

Head *Curator.*

13—100

133/226 Prepaid to N. Y.

The Assistant Secretary directs that ALL letters, or copies thereof, in the possession of the Curator or his Assistants, which relate to this Accession, be attached to this memorandum and forwarded with it to the Registrar.

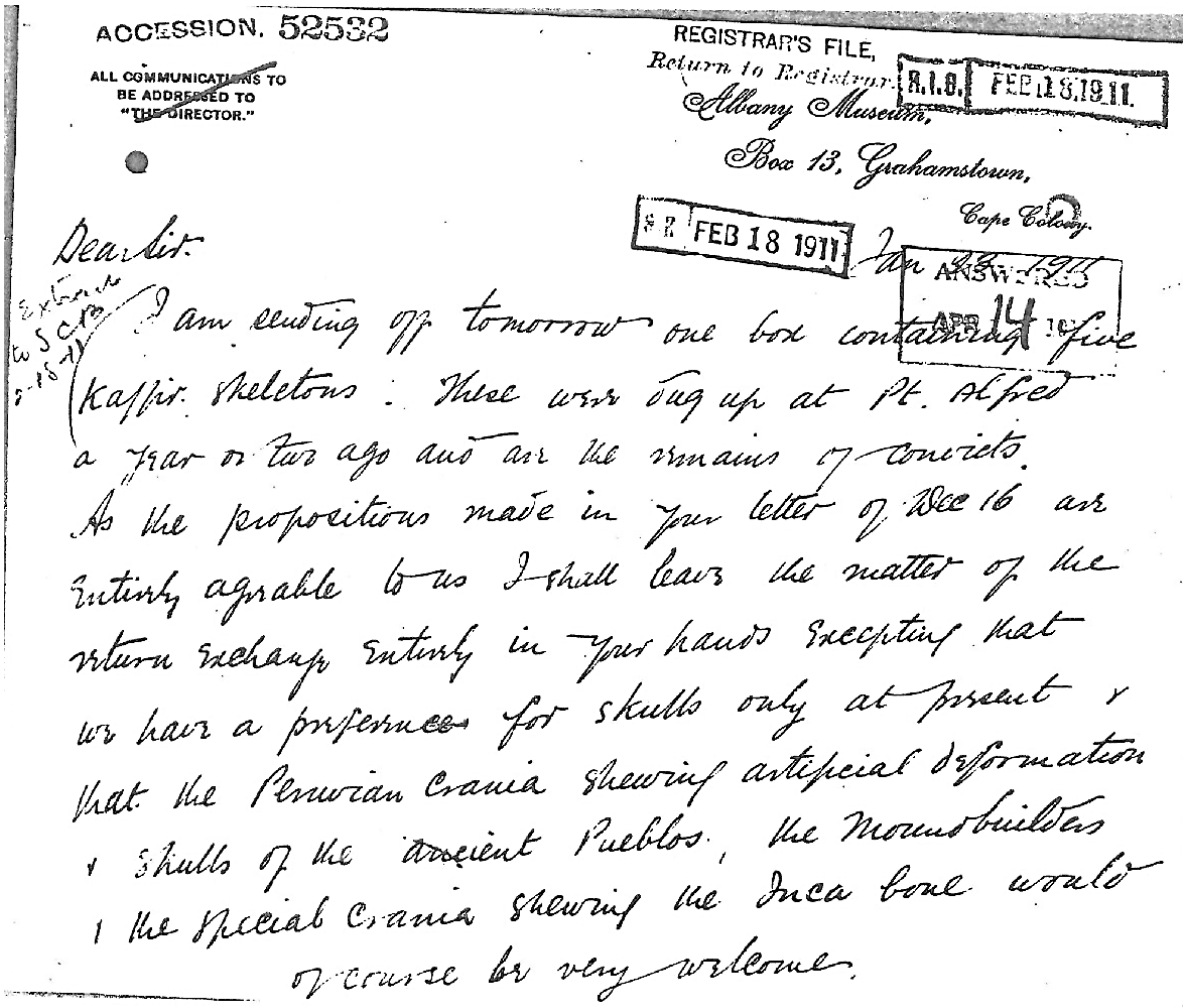
13—100

From left to right: Fig.193 The Smithsonian Museum's Accession Card that provides the date, year, catalogue number 263196 – 200 given to the Five skeletons from the Albany Museum. Fig. 194 the memorandum which contains supplementary information about the five remains.

In his account, Morongwa N. Mosothwane records that "the individuals were prison convicts dug up shortly after burial in the Port Alfred prison cemetery"[763] This information is verified by a manuscript letter dated February 18, 1911, [accession number 52532] when Hewitt confirms in the first two lines of the letter, the fact that these individuals were dug up in Port Alfred. "Dear Sir, I am sending off tomorrow one

[763] Moronga N. Mosothwane, An Account of South African Human Skeletal Remains at Three North American Museum Collections Volume. 11, Skeletal Identity Of Past Southern African Populations: Lessons from Outside South Africa (December 2013), p.28. http://www.jstor.org/stable43997026 (accessed 24 February 2018)

box containing five Kaffir skeletons. These were dug up at Pt. Alfred a year or two ago and are the remains of convicts…"[764]



ACCESSION. 52532

ALL COMMUNICATIONS TO BE ADDRESSED TO "THE DIRECTOR."

REGISTRAR'S FILE,
Return to Registrar.
Albany Museum,
Box 13, Grahamstown,
Cape Colony.

R.I.B. FEB 18 1911

S.R. FEB 18 1911

ANSWERED APR 14 19

Dear Sir.

I am sending off tomorrow one box containing five Kaffir skeletons. These were dug up at Pt. Alfred a year or two ago and are the remains of convicts. As the propositions made in your letter of Dec 16 are entirely agrable to us I shall leave the matter of the return exchange entirely in your hands excepting that we have a preference for skulls only at present viz that the Peruvian Crania shewing artificial deformation & skulls of the ancient Pueblos, the Mound builders & the Special Crania shewing the Inca bone would of course be very welcome.

Fig.195 Letter written by John Hewitt to the Smithsonian to confirm the shipping out of five human skeletons from Port Alfred to the Smithsonian Museum as part of the exchange deal between the two institutions.

[764] John Hewitt, Letter written by John Hewitt to the then Director of the Smithsonian Institution informing him of his decision to send five skeletons to him as agreed, Accession number 52532. Dated February 18, 1911.

INVOICE OF SPECIMENS

Invoice 521,
Division Physical Anthropology,
Copied in Book B,
Page No. 457-8.

April 11, 1911.

To the Albany Museum,
Grahamstown, Cape Colony, South Africa
Dr. John Hewitt, Director.

Sent in exchange for five (5)
Kaffir Skeletons (Acc. 52532.

Skull, male, showing pronounced occipital deformation, a club wound in the left parietal and defects in the floor of the auditory meatus; ancient pueblo, Arizona; collected by the Hemenway Expedition. 239,329

Skull, female, showing a very high degree of occipital (cradle-board) compression; ancient pueblo, Arizona; Army Medical Museum. 239,558

Skull, male, un-deformed, slightly asymmetric; Pre-Columbian, mound; Mississippi County, Arkansas; Army Medical Museum. 243,171

Skull, male, showing pronounced occipital deformation, characteristic wound produced by the point of a cylindrical bronze arrow at glabella; Pre-Columbian, Valley of Chicama, Peru; tribe Chimu. Collected by Dr. A. Hrdlicka. 264,346

Skull, male, showing marked fronto-occipital artificial deformation with pronounced supra-orbital ridges, characteristic exostoses in left auditory meatus; Pre-Columbian, tribe Chimu; Valley of Chicama, Peru. Dr. A. Hrdlicka. 264,352

Skull, female, pronounced occipital flattening with very slight deformation (frontal), a characteristic club-wound in the right parietal, temporo-frontal articulation on the right side; Pre-Columbian, tribe Chimu; Valley of Chicama, Peru; Dr. A. Hrdlicka. 264,359

Skull, male; Pachacamac, Peru; "Inca" bone; Dr. A. Hrdlicka. 266,463

Skull, female, curiously deformed, "Inca" bone, osteoma on right parietal; Pachacamac, Peru; Dr. A. Hrdlicka. 266,464

Skull, male, simple occipital (cradle-board) flattening somewhat one-sided, also characteristic defects in the floor of the auditory canals; Pre-Columbian, tribe Chimu; Valley of Chicama, Peru; Dr. A. Hrdlicka. 264,663

Skull, male, occipital deformation, facial asymmetry and very small orbits; Pre-Columbian, tribe Chimu; Valley of Chicama, Peru; Dr. A. Hrdlicka. 264,66

Skull, male, showing a marked unilateral occipital deformation, small defects in the floor of the auditory canals, also other features of interest; Pre-Columbian, tribe Chimu; Valley of Chicama, Peru; Dr. A. Hrdlicka. 264,66

Skull, male, simple occipital flattening, very heavy glabella, very broad pterion; Pre-Columbian, tribe Chimu; Valley of Chicama, Peru; Dr. A. Hrdlicka. 264,66

Skull, male, pronounced occipital with slight frontal compression, diminutive left meatus, small orbits; Pre-Columbian, tribe Chimu; Valley of Chicama, Peru; Dr. A. Hrdlicka. 264,67

Skull, female, showing in a pronounced way a fronto-occipital deformation; Pre-Columbian, tribe Chimu; Valley of Chicama, Peru; Dr. A. Hrdlicka. 264,68

Skull, heavy male, some occipital deformation, pronounced ridges and mastoids, low temporals, high openings of auditory canals, a characteristic club-wound on left side, pronounced temporal ridges; "Inca" (dolicocephalic) type; Pachacamac, Peru; Dr. A. Hrdlicka. 266,43

15 Specimens.

Fig.196 An invoice with a list of the Peruvian human remains that were sent by the Smithsonian Museum to the Albany Museum from in an exchange for the five human skeletons from Port Alfred.

Though we are not sure as to how these skeletons got to the Albany Museum in the first place, it is however, apparent that they were indeed dug out of their graves, because in an interview [Appendix Y] with David Hunt, a forensic anthropologist, he stated "all of them have a similar colouration to them, so they were in soil that was very similar to one another, so they may have been buried in a similar area. There's number 200 that we have, this one here has the darkest colour…so it may have been in a slightly more acidic? area that had a little more humus, a little bit more plant materials that were in the ground that were breaking down and then also I think it had more erosion, or taphonomic change to it than I have seen on the others. There was that one we were looking at, 96/97, which we had earlier that also shows this erosion, this taphonomic change that's pretty indicative of them being buried and that they were buried in a soil that had some acidity to it and that would be what you see here, this dark colouration, when plants are breaking down, you get more acids in the soil, so this is something that you see in this individual here."[765]

The correspondence between the Smithsonian and Albany Museum indicates that fifteen Peruvian skulls were then transported out of the United States in exchange for these individuals from Port Alfred. The content of this exchange is fully captured in the stamped letter [Appendix V] written to Hewitt by the then director of the Smithsonian, dated April, 14, 1911.

Typed with ink on paper, this letter uncovers the nature of conversations that authorities of different museums had when facilitating the exchange and trade in human remains.

[765] David Hunt, Interview by Wandile Kasibe, Audio, Washington DC, 9 February 2018

Not only this, but it also reveals to us the kind of commitment and tenacity with which these institutions had gone about to locate the study of the human remains at the 'heart' of their museological practice. In the subsequent correspondence we know for sure that five skeletons from Port Alfred were eventually sent to the Smithsonian as per the deal. We know this because of the letter [Appendix V] dated April 14, 1911, written by the director of the Smithsonian to thank Hewitt for delivering on his side of the bargain.

At the time of the writing of this chapter there was no evidence in the records as to who dug the skeletons out of the graves and how they were acquired by John Hewitt who "when the [Rhodes University] College was established in 1904, the Director, Dr Schonland became its first professor of Botany. Dr Schonland was succeeded as director by Dr John Hewitt."[766] This is the institution that was to later form strong ties with the Albany Museum "which was founded in 1855. [But] acquired its building in 1902 when the core block of the present Sciences Museum was built."[767]

Fifty six years after the museum was founded in 1855 and nine years after the building Natural Sciences building, these five human skulls of individuals from Southern Africa were shipped out of South Africa in 1911 to the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution in the United States of America in exchange for fifteen Peruvian remains

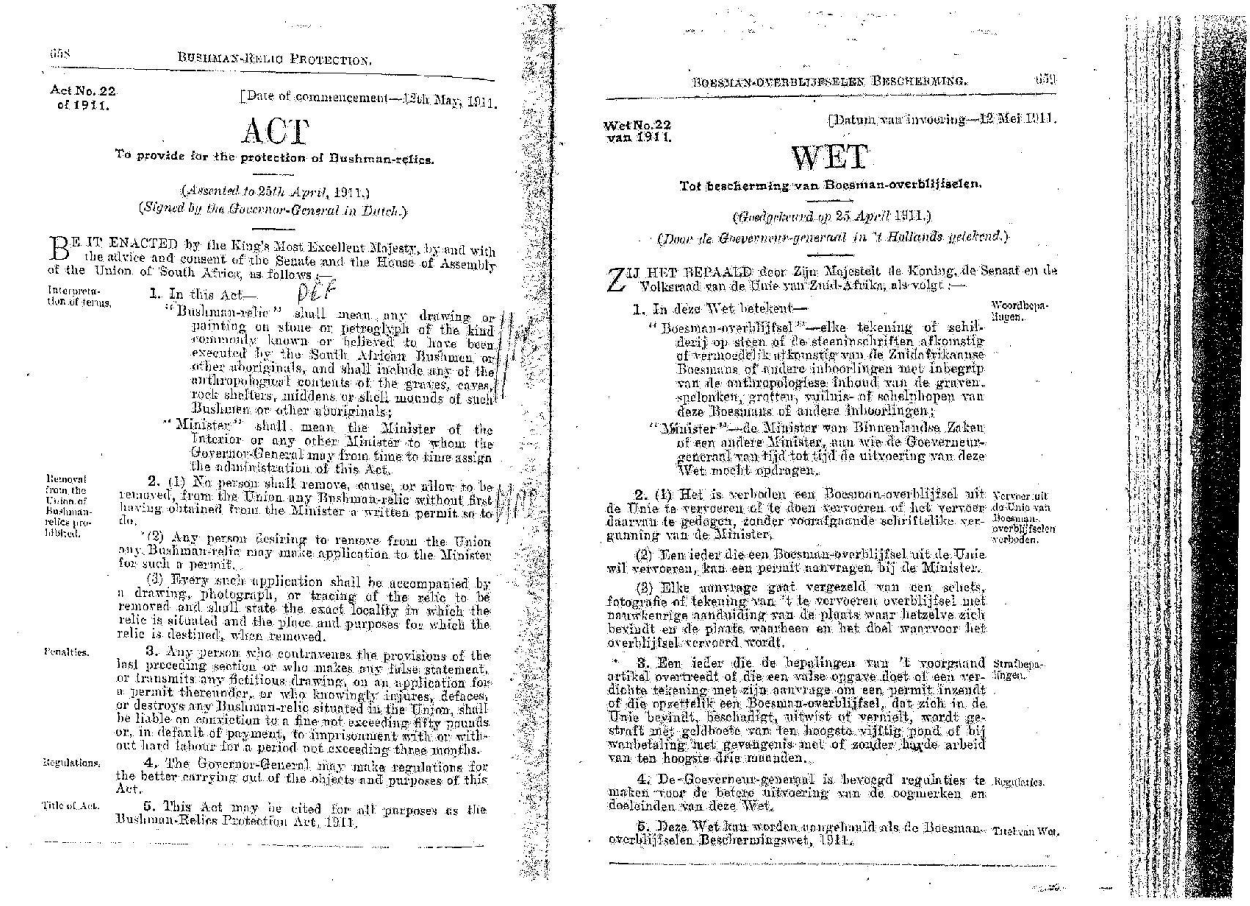
[766] Research Institutes and Units: The Albany Museum https://www.ru.ac.za/media/rhodesuniversity/content/registrar/documents/prospectus/albany%20museum.pdf (accessed 4 November 2017)
[767] *Ibid*

This exchange occurred just after the formation of the Union of South Africa between the English and the Boers, prior to the passage of "Bushmen Relic Protection Act No 22 of 1911"[768] [Fig.197] which prevented any removal of any heritage object without the approval of the Minister. According to the act "'Bushmen-relic' shall mean any drawing or painting on stone or petroglyph of the kind commonly known or believed to have been executed by the South African Bushmen or other aboriginals, and shall include any of the anthropological contents of the graves, caves, rock shelters, middens or shell mounds of such Bushmen or other aboriginals;…"[769]

Therefore, these skulls of Africans would have been under the protection of the act as "contents of the graves" of other aboriginals. It invokes our curiosity to observe the fact that, it was just months before 12 May 1911, when this act came into force, that the aforementioned skulls clandestinely left South Africa for North America. This suggests that their leaving may have been prevented by this act or at least subjected to due process. Had these remains been shipped after the commencement of the act, it is clear that Hewitt would have been forced by law to get permission from the then Minister to ship these remains to the Smithsonian. It is also fascinating to observe the fact, that these remains are recorded as donations, which could indicate the 'worthlessness' of the lives of people who were deemed lesser beings. Whether these remains were shipped before or after the commencement of the act, it does not answer the fact that, even after the passing of this law on 12 May 1911, many human remains

[768] South African Heritage Resource Agency, Bushman Relics Act 1911 http://www.sahra.org.za/sahris/sites/default/files/website/articledocs/Bushman%20Relics%20Act%201911.pdf (accessed 14 November 2017)
[769] *Ibid*

that were smuggled out of the country by grave robbers and body snatchers, without being reported.



688 BUSHMAN-RELIC PROTECTION.

Act No. 22 of 1911. [Date of commencement—12th May, 1911.

ACT

To provide for the protection of Bushman-relics.

(Assented to 25th April, 1911.)
(Signed by the Governor-General in Dutch.)

BE IT ENACTED by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and the House of Assembly of the Union of South Africa, as follows:—

Interpretation of terms.

1. In this Act—

"Bushman-relic" shall mean any drawing or painting on stone or petroglyph of the kind commonly known or believed to have been executed by the South African Bushmen or other aboriginals, and shall include any of the anthropological contents of the graves, caves, rock shelters, middens or shell mounds of such Bushmen or other aboriginals;

"Minister" shall mean the Minister of the Interior or any other Minister to whom the Governor-General may from time to time assign the administration of this Act.

Removal from the Union of Bushman-relics prohibited.

2. (1) No person shall remove, cause, or allow to be removed, from the Union any Bushman-relic without first having obtained from the Minister a written permit so to do.

(2) Any person desiring to remove from the Union any Bushman-relic may make application to the Minister for such a permit.

(3) Every such application shall be accompanied by a drawing, photograph, or tracing of the relic to be removed and shall state the exact locality in which the relic is situated and the place and purposes for which the relic is destined, when removed.

Penalties.

3. Any person who contravenes the provisions of the last preceding section or who makes any false statement, or transmits any fictitious drawing, on an application for a permit thereunder, or who knowingly injures, defaces, or destroys any Bushman-relic situated in the Union, shall be liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds or, in default of payment, to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding three months.

Regulations.

4. The Governor-General may make regulations for the better carrying out of the objects and purposes of this Act.

Title of Act.

5. This Act may be cited for all purposes as the Bushman-Relics Protection Act, 1911.

BOESMAN-OVERBLIJFSELEN BESCHERMING. 689

Wet No. 22 van 1911. [Datum van invoering—12 Mei 1911.

WET

Tot bescherming van Boesman-overblijfselen.

(Goedgekeurd op 25 April 1911.)
(Door de Goeverneur-generaal in 't Hollands geteekend.)

ZIJ HET BEPAALD door Zijn Majesteit de Koning, de Senaat en de Volksraad van de Unie van Zuid-Afrika, als volgt:—

Woordbepalingen.

1. In deze Wet beteekent—

"Boesman-overblijfsel"—elke teekening of schilderij op steen of de steeninschriften afkomstig of vermoedelijk afkomstig van de Zuidafrikaanse Boesmans of andere inboorlingen met inbegrip van de anthropologiese inhoud van de gruven, spelonken, grotten, vuilnis- of schelphopen van deze Boesmans of andere inboorlingen;

"Minister"—de Minister van Binnenlandse Zaken of een andere Minister, aan wie de Goeverneur-generaal van tijd tot tijd de uitvoering van deze Wet mocht opdragen.

Verwijdering uit de Unie van Boesman-overblijfselen verboden.

2. (1) Het is verboden een Boesman-overblijfsel uit de Unie te vervoeren of te doen vervoeren of het vervoer daarvan te gedogen, zonder voorafgaande schriftelike vergunning van de Minister.

(2) Een ieder die een Boesman-overblijfsel uit de Unie wil vervoeren, kan een permit aanvragen bij de Minister.

(3) Elke aanvrage gaat vergezeld van een schets, fotografie of tekening van 't te vervoeren overblijfsel met nauwkeurige aanduiding van de plaats waar hetzelve zich bevindt en de plaats waarheen en het doel waarvoor het overblijfsel vervoerd wordt.

Strafbepalingen.

3. Een ieder die de bepalingen van 't voorgaand artikel overtreedt of die een valse opgave doet of een verdichte tekening met zijn aanvrage om een permit inzendt of die opzettelik een Boesman-overblijfsel, dat zich in de Unie bevindt, beschadigt, uitwist of vernielt, wordt gestraft met geldboete van ten hoogste vijftig pond of bij wanbetaling met gevangenis met of zonder harde arbeid van ten hoogste drie maanden.

Regulaties.

4. De Goeverneur-generaal is bevoegd regulaties te maken voor de betere uitvoering van de oogmerken en doeleinden van deze Wet.

Titel van Wet.

5. Deze Wet kan worden aangehaald als de Boesman-overblijfselen Beschermingswet, 1911.

Fig.197 Copy of the Bushmen Relic Protection Act of 1911

This was followed by the population census of 1911 to show the demographics at the time, as illustrated by John Kane-Berman and **Tempest J** [Fig.198]. Only two years later, the notorious Land Act of 1913 would institutionalize the mass displacement of Africans across the country. Under such a political climate it was not rare for 'scientific' material, objects to be shipped out of the country to either North America or Europe and museum were channels and outposts for this kind of nefarious trade.

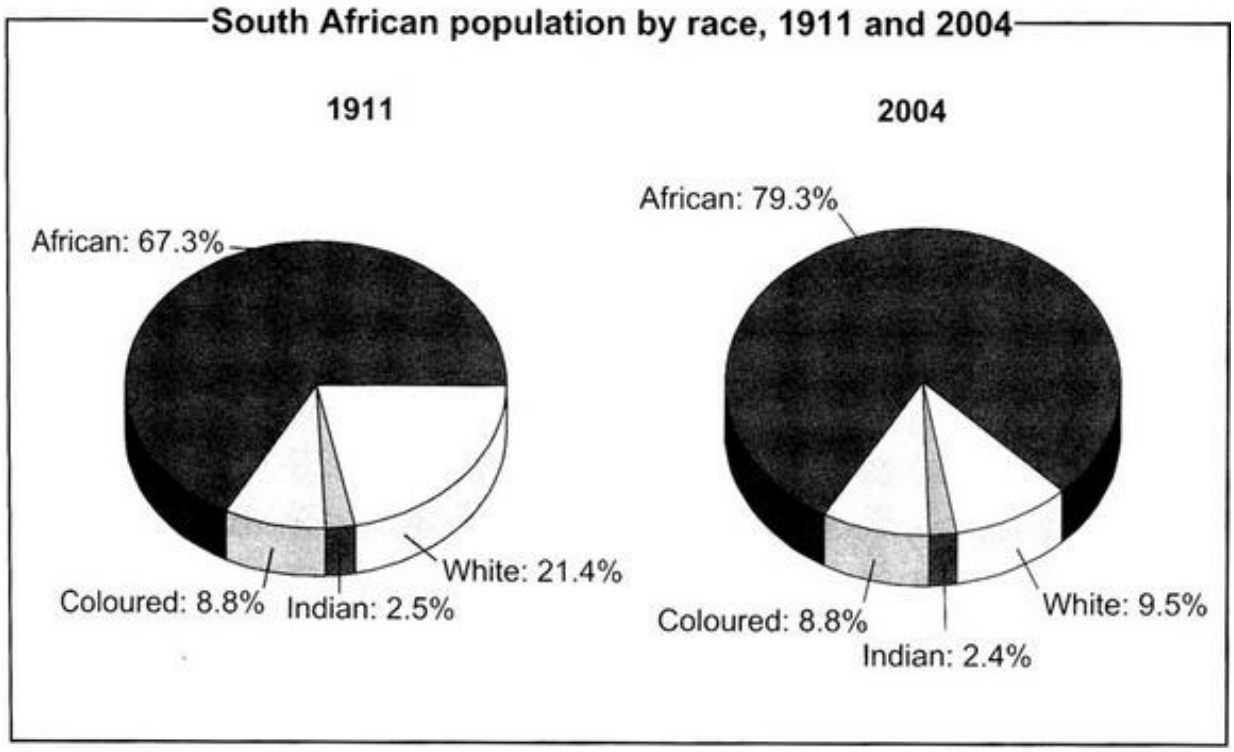


Fig.198 The estimation of the South African population by race between 1911 and 2004. Source John Kane-Berman and Tempest J, editors of the South African Survey 3003/2004, (South African Institute of Race Relations Johannesburg, 2003, p.3) http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/census-statistics-based-previous-censuses-taken-kane-berman-j-and-tempest-j-eds-south-africa

From 1906 until today the oldest museums in South Africa still have the 'Bushmen' 'relics' collected during colonialism and apartheid. Their curatorial and 'scientific' authority has never been widely questioned in the same way that the country questioned and rejected colonialism and apartheid mentalities. We hardly ever pause as a nation to ask the questions: who gave the museum the power to define and classify and for whose benefit? We still marvel at museums positioned as 'neutral' educational spaces but we have not questioned the colonial methods through which these museums arrive at their research findings and conclusions. For decades, expert curators have remained the sole producers of knowledge in most museums and its only now that

people are beginning to question these museological methods through raising questions about decolonization and its implications. It must be remembered that the majority of Black people were excluded from museum spaces, and therefore, the culture of museum-going with the development of a critical voice has only recently emerged. Those few who do visit the museum are only shown a minute fraction of what is in the storerooms and analyzing laboratories. In fact, no one except the elite will ever find out about the full catalogue of sacred objects and mortal remains that were collected during the period of a dark past. Ordinary people may never see the records of the archaeological digs of fossilized human remains that were dug out of sacred sites and now form part of museum collections and 'research material' across the country, let alone the unethically collected remains and bones of the dead. Some of these collections are classified as 'ethically' collected remains, but what does it mean to ethically collect a human body or a skull in the African context?

On my return from the United States, I contacted the national Minister of Arts and Culture, Nathi Mthethwa [Appendix W] to establish ways in which to repatriate the remains of these individuals back in South Africa. On 6 August 2018, the Deputy Director General, Vusithemba Ndima responded through a signed letter [Appendix X] and highlighted the fact that, "The South African Government is constantly inundated with requests to repatriate human remains of South Africans in other countries. Most of these requests cannot be granted because of capacity and financial resources challenges, but most importantly because of an absence of national policy. For this reason, the Department of Arts and Culture has initiated the process of developing a

national policy that will provide standardized guidelines on the repatriation of human remains"[770] The letter goes further to state that, "It is envisaged that the development of the policy will be finalized by the end of March 2019"[771] As a way of creating public awareness and posing these questions to the public I have written articles: "Colonial history rooted in museums"[772], "The Skulls of Our Ancestors"[773], "Repatriate remains to restore dignity"[774] and "UCT skeletons in the cupboard not a mistake, but evidence of a colonial crime against humanity"[775] to add value to the ongoing public discussions on the issues raised.

When the truth has finally come out of the confined academic and research spaces of museums and universities for all to know, society will be able to locate the geographical terrains, accessions numbers, institution where these remains are, the gender of the remains, the donators, the collectors and the quantity of these remains at a given time. This is the knowledge that most African people are not privy to; they do not know that the bones of their African ancestors are locked in museums; to them this knowledge could be described in the words of Donald Rumsfeld, as the "unknown unknown". In a press briefing in February 2002, Rumsfeld stated "there are known knowns. These are things we know that we know. There are known unknowns. That is to say, there are

[770] Vusithemba Ndima, Repatriation of South African Human Remains in Museums Worldwide: Towards a Museum Truth, Repatriations and Reparations Commission, response letter
[771] *Ibid*
[772] Wandile Kasibe, Colonial history rooted in museums https://www.iol.co.za/capetimes/opinion/colonial-history-rooted-in-museums-10775526 (accessed 13 August 2017)
[773] Wandile Kasibe, The Skulls of Our Ancestors https://www.news24.com/Columnists/GuestColumn/the-skulls-of-our-ancestors-20180318-2 (accessed 18 March 2018)
[774] Wandile Kasibe, Repatriate to restore dignity https://www.news24.com/Columnists/GuestColumn/repatriate-remains-to-restore-dignity-20180916-2 (accessed 16 September 2018)
[775] Wandile Kasibe, UCT skeletons in the cupboard not a mistake, but evidence of a colonial crime against humanity https://vernacnews.co.za/2018/10/18/uct-skeletons-in-the-cupboard-not-a-mistake-but-evidence-of-a-colonial-crime-against-humanity/ (accessed 18 October 2018)

things we know we don't know. But are also unknown unknowns. There are things we don't know we dont know."[776] The more that hundred human skulls and more than twenty human casts that are currently locked in the storage of the Iziko South African Museum becomes an "unknown unknown" to many people who have never accessed this space, whilst it is a "known known" to those who are privileged and granted access to handle and write about this 'material'. It also become a "known unknown" to those who read about these nefarious activities without being given access to verify the truth.

To this end, Morris, records that, "the Revd H Kling provided a total of seven skeletons of known Khoisan individuals to the South African Museum in Cape Town and the Albany Museum in Grahamstown between 1909 and 1912. Kling was minister at the Steinkopt Rhemish Mission station from 1893 to 1899, and again from 1907 to 1919 (Strassberger 1969). His first appointment at Steinkopt overlapped with the severe Namaqualand drought of 1895-7, and it was during this period that many of the people died, whose skeletons Kling later had exhumed and donated to South African and Albany Museums."[777] Another truth that comes to face us is the information contained in letters that were written between museums, grave robbers, body snatchers, those who were at the frontiers and the Cape government.

[776] Donald Rumsfeld, Unknown unknowns! https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GiPe1OiKQuk (accessed 30 March 2018) [0:07/0:34]
[777] Alan G. Morris, Trophy Skulls, Museums and the San in Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen (ed) Pippa Skotness (Cape Town: Cape Town University Press, 1996), pp.71-72.

Two representative examples among many are the communication from Louis Péringuey to the Cape government seeking support to access convict stations in his quest to finding and locating ‘pure’ Bushmen and another example is the communication between Péringuey and George St. Leger Lennox on the trade of human remains with Leiden, 15 August 1910.

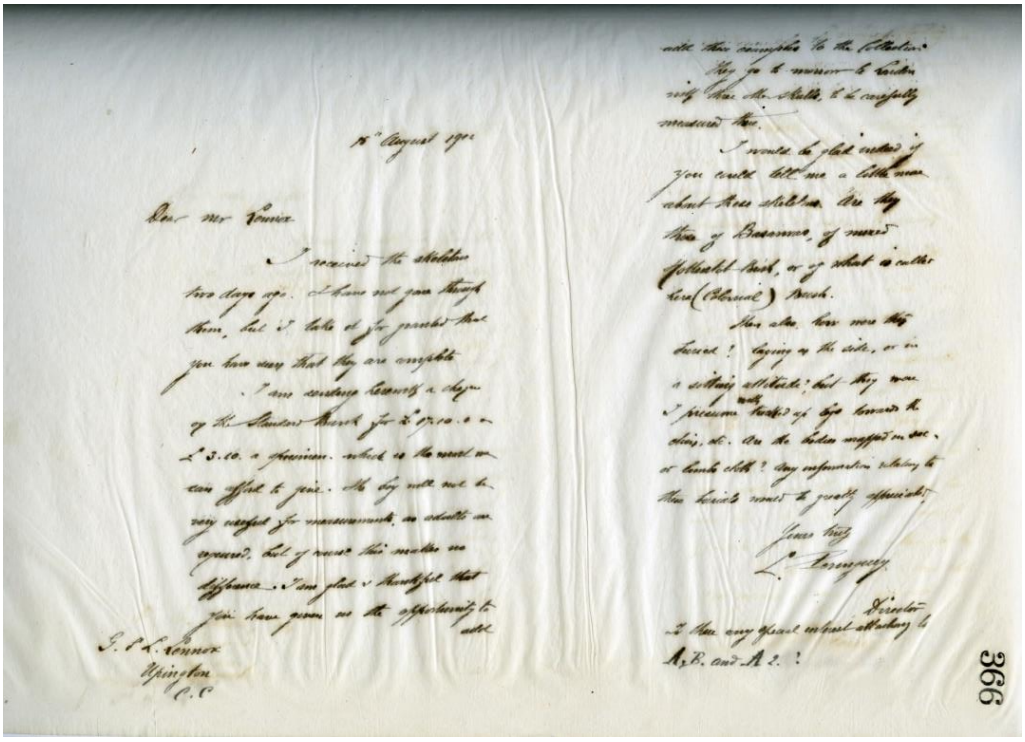


Fig.199 Letter written by Louis Péringuey to George St. Leger Lennox. Source Robyn-Leigh Cedras Thesis

The following is the transcription of the Louis Péringuey letter to Lennox, transcribed by Robyn-Leigh Cedras in her thesis *In the Halls of History: The Making and Unmaking of the Life-casts at the Ethnography Galleries of the Iziko South African Museum* in which she includes other letters.

“[Page 1/2]

15 August 1910
G. S. L. Lennox Eq., Upington C. C.

Dear Mr Lennox

I have received your skeletons two days ago. I have not gone through these, but I take it for granted that you have seen that they are complete.
I am sending herewith a cheque on the Standard Banks for £. *17.10. at* £. 3.10. a specimen. Which is the most we can afford to give. The boy will not be very useful for measurements as adults are required, but of course this makes no difference. I am glad and thankful that you have given us the opportunity to add
[Page 2/2]
Add these examples to the collection. They go tomorrow to Leiden with the other skulls to be carefully measured there.
I would be glad indeed if you could tell me a little more about the skeletons. Are they those of Basarwa or mixed Hottentot Bush, or of what is called here (Colonial) Bush.
Then also, how were they buried? Laying on the side or in the sitting attitude? But they were I presume with tucked up legs towards the chins, etc. Are the bodies wrapped in [sac] or lambs cloth? Any information relating to their burials would be greatly appreciated.
Yours sincerely L. Péringuey Director"[778]

Another example is in Legassick and Rassool's account on recorded letters (1/SBK 4/3/3 C313/07) sent by the Cape government in 1907 to convict stations, "I am directed to inform you that the Director of the South African Museum has represented that owing to the rapid disappearance of the pure types of aboriginal Bushmen, Namaqua Hottentots and Koranna, the Trustees of the Museum are anxious to secure for record while there is still opportunity, exact models and statistics of the physical peculiarities of members of these races, by means of casts, photographs and measurements to be taken by experts sent by the Museum authorities."[779]

From the time they arrived at these museums and others that have not been mentioned here these cranial remains have been subjected to processes of race "science",

[778] Louis *Péringuey to St George Leger Lennox,* 15 August 1910*, Upington transcribed from letter number 366,* Iziko Social History Centre Archives, Iziko Museums of South Africa] (Robyn-Leigh Cedras, thesis, p.163)
[779] Martin Legassick & Ciraj Rassool, Skeletons in the Cupboard: South African museums and the trade in human remains 1907-1917 (Cape Town: South African Museum, 2000), p.58.

compared with Europeans and orangutans. They have waited in the dark rooms, processing laboratories with their bones piled into boxes, perhaps for a moment when society will awake to call their names and retell their painful stories in an effort to reclaim their dignity.

Perhaps, that time has come, when the 'decolonisation' of the colonial episteme and institutions of knowledge production such as museums has to take shape, when society's gaze turns towards the museological institution and universities to seek historical justice and truth through reparations, restitution and repatriations of the thousands upon thousands of many victims of the colonial and apartheid crimes whose violations have been sustained over a long period of time. Across South African museums, big and small and on foreign soil they wait, their bones cut to pieces and broken; enduring time and time again the violating hands of the South African men and women and those "of the North, who are blind to ethical codes, cultural knowledge and therefore the crimes they commit in the pursuit of "science" to extract DNA samples to study human origins."[780] They see these "…bones and human tissues as 'research material' and 'specimens' to be studied as opposed to giving the individuals the courtesy of burial and acknowledgment of the violations that were committed on their bodies. How long will these violations continue? When will our ancestors rest in peace?"[781]

[780] Wandile Kasibe, The Skulls of Our Ancestors https://www.news24.com/Columnists/GuestColumn/the-skulls-of-our-ancestors-20180318-2 (accessed 30 March 2018)
[781] Wandile Kasibe, The Skulls of Our Ancestors https://www.news24.com/Columnists/GuestColumn/the-skulls-of-our-ancestors-20180318-2 (accessed 30 March 2018)

The country and the world will come to realize yet another truth, as revealed by Morris that, “some of these bones tell us another story, for on the back shelves of some museums lie the last mortal remains of historic San killed in the genocide of the last two centuries in South Africa.”[782] And that, “the collection of the human skeletons was part of the colonisers’ duty to assembly as complete a record as possible of their land’s natural history”, meaning that these remains were classified and categorised as part of nature together with carcases of the animals that were stuffed in museums. When the Museum TRRC seats, the degrading Linnaean taxonomic processes of classification, reclassification and declassification will be uncovered to uncover the psychological effect of reducing people to ‘things’ and numbers.

The public does not know that their ancestors’ skeletons and body parts are in these museums, universities and scientific institutions. The reason being is that, doors have been closed through a moratorium which prohibits any access to any primary knowledge about these individuals. Only through a context of an open TRRC process, that such a moratorium can be lifted so that people know the truth about their ancestors and how their remains got to the museums in the first place and who was involved in the transactional processes of acquiring the remains of these individuals. I submit that it through such process that a legal argument to make the inventories of museums collections public for people to know.

[782] Alan G. Morris, Trophy Skulls, Museums and the San in Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen (ed) Pippa Skotness (Cape Town: Cape Town University Press, 1996), p.67.

It must be reiterated that, the truth is that natural history, anthropological and some private museums still have human remains and body casts in their collections today and these human remains were collected under colonial and apartheid administrations for purposes of race 'science' to justify what Gould calls "Biological determinisim"[783]. Gould argues that, *Biological determinisim* "…holds that shared behavioral norms, and the social and economic differences between human groups–primarliy races, classes, and sexes –arise from inherited, inborn distinctions and that society, in this sense, is an accurate reflection of biology."[784]

As were have argued in the early stages of this research that, these remains were used to justify racism, slavery and oppression of those who were deemed lesser beings and subsequently those justifications, stereotypes and assumptions were put into legislations that further divided people along colour lines, thus creating animosity amongst citizens. By collecting tainted skulls, skeletons, sacred objects of the vanquished without their consent to justify racism, the museum took on the role as the perpetrator of crimes against humanity, but their role in these human violations was never publicly interrogated in the same way that the country had faced its agonistic past through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. This is not to suggest that there have not been discussions and legislative changes in the political landscape, but these discussions have only taken place in elitists spaces such as conferences and written about in exclusive books that are not easily accessible and have not been cascaded down to communities who are on the receiving end of the divisive legislations that were

[783] Stephen Jay Gould, The Mismeasure of Man (Canada: Penguin Books, 1981), p.20.
[784] *Ibid*

drawn from the knowledge that was produced in museums and the trauma that ensued. It is thus at the level of these communities, museological institution, legislative arms of the state, institutions of higher learning and the curatorial personnel who dictate the content that reconciliation must take place. It is when these entities are brought into that open dialogical space with an intention to tell the 'truth' about the involvement of the Museological institution in the past that we can begin to see museums admitting openly to these past crimes, and thereby allowing society to heal and reconcile.

The Museum TRRC, completes aspects of the unfinished business of the South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, in that there are names of the disappeared and nameless individuals whose human remains and tissues are still locked in the storage vaults of the South African museums and universities whom society has been prevented from knowing in fear of an uprising against these institutions for their lack of transparency.

The activities of men and women of 'science' who perpetrated and maintain these violations may never be brought to book: the collection that Andrew Smith had collected on his missions as the colonial government agent into the interior of South Africa may not be critically engaged, the body casts made under Louis Péringuey's directorship in 1906 may take time to be de-accessioned, but the trauma of the people remains. In addition, Margaret Shaw was appointed in 1933 until 1962 as the first ethnographer, and worked together with a government ethnologist on a African crafts project that mirrored ethnic divisions set out by the Nationalist Party.

Furthermore, as civil society is generally unaware of museum holdings, the skeletal acquisitions of Southern Africans by Felix von Luschan, R. Dumbleton, H. Kling, George Lennox, Rudolph Porch, Mehnarto, John Hewitt, Lieutenant 'Cocky' Hahn, Brink, Fowler, Broom, Singer, Rudner and many others which are at museums across the world may never be brought to the full glare of historical justice.

So we must ask the questions: Who do museums serve? Are they here for themselves or communities? Who should dictate what should happen in museums? Why is it that colonial methods of research still form the basis of knowledge production in the 'post-colonial' museum? Could it be that museums are still colonial agents?

With these epistemological issues hovering over museums and universities which have also been unethically collecting remains of the dead, I argue that post 1994 democracy presents an opportunity for these institutions to come forth to disclose their complicity in the acquisition of the remains of the dead. I contend that these institutions can and should be held accountable for their role in the crimes committed against humanity. Though built from the ideology of the colonial and apartheid epochs, I am of the view that museums can be held accountable in the 'post-colonial' era, using today's standards of justice and rule of law.

All skeletons, bones and objects acquired through criminal means should be repatriated back to where they were stolen from. The restoration of human dignity as inscribed in the supreme law of the land on which museums are built, should start on the premise of

truth and restitution. In the United States, the media exposed criminal practices of museums, which prompted a wholesale repatriation, as "For decades, museums in America, Europe, and elsewhere had been buying recently looted objects from a criminal underworld of smugglers and fences, in violation of U.S. and foreign law"[785], Jason Felch & Ralf Frammolino argue. Furthermore they argue that this scandal "redefined some of America's most cherished institutions in the public mind…as multimillion-dollar showcases for stolen property."[786] France's president, Emmanuel Macron has been a leading force in calling for France to live out its values of liberty, equality and fraternity:

> "I cannot accept that a large part of the cultural heritage of several African countries is in France," the French president said last year in Ouagadougou, the capital of Burkina Faso. "There are historical explanations for this but there is no valid, lasting and unconditional justification. African heritage cannot be only in private collections and European museums – it must be showcased in Paris but also in Dakar, Lagos and Cotonou. This will be one of my priorities."[787]

Macron commissioned a report by Senegalese writer and economist Felwine Sarr and the French historian Bénédicte Savoy, which recommends French law must be changed to allow for the repatriation of objects in French institutions looted during the colonial

[785] Jason Felch & Ralf Frammolino, Chasing Aphrodite: The Hunt for Looted Antiquities at the World's Richest Museum (Boston & New York: HOUGHTON MIFFLIN HACOURT, 2011), p.1.
[786] Jason Felch & Ralf Frammolino (2011-05-23T22:58:59). Chasing Aphrodite: The Hunt for Looted Antiquities at the World's Richest Museum (Kindle Locations 66-68). Houghton Mifflin Harcourt. Kindle Edition.
[787] Emmanuel Macron, in France urged to change heritage law and return looted art to Africa by Ruth Maclean, 21 Nov 2018 https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/nov/21/france-urged-to-return-looted-african-art-treasures-macron (accessed 13 November 2018)

era.[788] Ruth Maclean submits to us that, this is no idle exercise as "The report's authors travelled to Mali, Senegal, Cameroon and Benin and looked through the works held by the Musée du quai Branly, a museum focused on non-European cultures in Paris, and found that about 46,000 of its 90,000 African works were "acquired" between 1885 and 1960 and may have to be returned."[789]

With the proposed change in legislation and the cataloguing of illicit holdings, this seems to be a clear acknowledgement of the illegality of museum collecting during the colonial era. However, troublingly, the extent of these holdings is still unknown even to museum directors and research professionals, as "Travelling in Africa, we saw the effect that these inventories can have, especially on museum directors,"[790] Ruth Maclean records Savoy to have told Libération. Further to Maclean's account, "They never had access to these lists, and never in such a clear and structured way. Highly knowledgeable researchers and teachers were really incredulous when we told them there were so many of their countries' objects at quai Branly."[791]

This effort sets a clear precedent for a global Museum TRRC, with the strong support of the head of state, as well as a transparent effort between the institution and the countries of origin of the works. The Museum TRRC is not a panacea but a framework that should help us move forward and connect these global experiences in an effort to

[788] Ruth Maclean, France urged to change heritage law and return looted art to Africa https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/nov/21/france-urged-to-return-looted-african-art-treasures-macron (accessed 21 November 2018)
[789] Ruth Maclean, France urged to change heritage law and return looted art to Africa https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/nov/21/france-urged-to-return-looted-african-art-treasures-macron (accessed 21 November 2018)
[790] *Ibid*
[791] *Ibid*

re-engineer the sociology of museum making to align with democratic values and universal human rights laws that support the right to human dignity. The Museum TRRC is illustrated in the diagram below to show its three major components (repatriation, reparations and truth) with the museum in the middle.

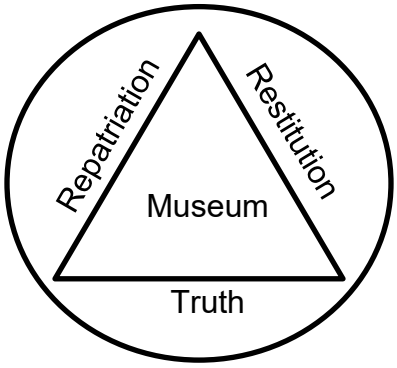


Fig.200 Illustration that shows the three pillars of the Museum TRRC. Illustration drawn by Wandile Kasibe

In this diagram, the “Truth” is foundational to the Museum TRRC and is supporting the practices of repatriation and reparation to achieve restorative justice. The circle symbolizes universal human rights whilst creating a balance between truth, repatriation and reparations. It is this equilibrium that the Museum TRRC advocates for in its attempt to suggest ways in which we could deal with the untold truth of our painful past which lies in museum storage vaults and archives. It is this truth that the Museum TRRC seeks to bring forth.

Though the pain is too deep and still shapes the lives of millions of South Africans and those in the Diaspora, some may argue against the idea of confronting these museological gross human rights violations, fearing that such a confrontation may

produce unintended consequences. But what could be more painful than a nation that repeats the mistakes of its past? For Archbishop Desmond Tutu reminds us that the past, "…has an uncanny habit of returning to haunt one. 'Those who forget the past are doomed to repeat it'"[792]

He further reasons that, "we could not make the journey from a past marked by conflict, injustice, oppression, and exploitation to a new and democratic dispensation characterised by a culture of respect for human rights without coming face to face with our recent history. No one disputes this. The differences of opinion have been about how we should deal with that past; how should we come to terms with it."[793]

As we unravel the meaning of the truth in a context where so many untruths have been conjured up, institutionalized and perpetuated about people's identities and ways of being, we turn again to the words of Archbishop Tutu, the chair of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission: "the past, it has been said, is another country. The way its stories are told and the way they are heard change as the years go by. The spotlight gyrates, exposing old lies and illuminating new truths. As a fuller picture emerges, a new piece of the jigsaw puzzle of our past settles into place."[794] It is in this fragile balance between the agonizing past and emerging new truths that the Museum TRRC locates itself as a direct response to the colonial imprint on the internal structures of the museological institution.

[792] Desmond Mpilo Tutu, Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report RC Final Report (volume 1), p.7.
[793] *Ibid*,.p.5.
[794] *Ibid*,.p.7.

The Museum TRRC emerges as an institutional critique against the colonial dust that has not settled in museums, from broken fragments of human body tissues, bones, from the spoils of colonial loot and desecrated graves of African ancestors. This is the dust that has not settled for, and requires investigation, as "inevitably, evidence and information about our past will continue to emerge, as indeed they must. The report of the Commission will now take its place in the historical landscape of which future generations will try to make sense - searching for the clues that lead, endlessly, to a truth that will, in the very nature of things, never be fully revealed"[795] Even as we may not be able to fully reveal the truth, the principle of the Museum TRRC revives that which was lost which brings the museological institution to account for its involvement in these gross human rights violations.

I argue that the Museum TRRC and its principle of disclosure starts from Legassick and Rassool's premise that the museological institution in South Africa has managed to escape rigorous public scrutiny and has not been adequately taken to task for their voluntarily involvement in the crimes against humanity. As a result, the museological institution has not accounted for their involvement in the perpetuation of colonialism, apartheid and white supremacist ideologies. Furthermore, the museological institution has not been publicly investigated for these past crimes; hence, the presence of human remains collections still being hidden from the public. Why are tainted colonial materials that were collected as part of a discredited 'science' still a part of the museum collections in the "post-colonial" era? Should not they be returned to the people and

[795] Desmond Mpilo Tutu, Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report RC Final Report (volume 1), p.4.

communities from whom these materials were taken and it should then be up to those communities to decide what if anything they want held in museums for the cultural benefit of all. Museums should be created with the consent of the people not against the people.

Whilst there is a general moratorium on the access and study of these ‘material’, things still happen under the cover of secrecy. Exclusive discussions about the repatriation of this tainted ‘material’ take place behind closed doors, material that not so long ago was a source of gratification for race ‘scientists’, and the Victorian audience who used this material as an affirmation of their ‘supremacy’ and justification for the exploitation of the black masses. There is a rush to dispose of these mortal remains of people who were deemed lesser beings, the museum is privately and quietly shaking off this colonial past.

Indigenous leaders who have been favoured by the institution for their less critical approach to the involvement of the museum in the violations of the then living and the dead have been co-opted to validate and endorse these discussions with an understanding that their presence signifies the symbolic presence of the constituency they represent. But we are all aware of the colonial schisms that have split indigenous communities, to sow divisions between them under the auspices of the colonial and apartheid “divide and rule” strategy. These man-made divisions become apparent when one indigenous group is identified over the other, when colonialism dealt with them as a single unit as bodies cast out of the human family and exploited at will.

On one hand, the museum is under pressure to return this tainted material and on the other, the indigenous leaders it has identified as 'legitimate' representatives are not recognized as legitimate leaders by other community indigenous groupings not invited by the museum. By choosing one over the other, the museum perpetuates colonial division, whether wittingly or unwittingly. It locates itself as the final arbiter and deems one group of people as less important than the other. In this complicated web of power and dominance, censorship, freedom and lack of transparency one wonders whether the museological institution with its colonial baggage has the moral high ground to dictate rules of engagement: who should be invited and should not be invited to participate in issues that are meant to restore the dignity of a people. This moral dilemma compromises the museological institution, causing it to regress to the oppression of colonial status quo.

The concealment of the truth continues behind the thick doors of the museum laboratories where sensitive material is locked. Who handles it? What is the museum personnel's connection to these remains? What is the protocol for handling the remains of the bones of Africans who had either been stolen or collected through acts of genocidal violence? Who informed that protocol? In what climatological conditions are these remains, human casts and sacred objects kept? Is this knowledge made known or concealed in fear that too much truth about the history of collecting of human remains will concentrate people's focus back to the museum? But is it not a fact that a crime concealed and not publicly acknowledged continues to delay processes of justice, and as Dumisa Ntsebeza argues that, "to hide the horrors of the past in a collective amnesia

would leave posterity with a legacy of festering guilt and unrelieved pain"[796] How would this revelation of truth influence the experience and/or healing of people who may be directly or indirectly affected by such a crime having been committed? Can a socially cohesive society be created under the shadow of secrecy and silence? Can one build a nation with a foundation of secrecy? Just as it was in South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Bell brings it to our attention that, "the constituency of one side wished silence, secrecy or an automatic route to absolution where this was not possible; the majority constituency wanted to rip aside the lies, deceits and obscurantism of the past"[797], and I contend that history seems to repeat itself.

Whilst on one hand, people who know about these museological crimes and communities want to bring these to the full glare of public scrutiny, on the other, the museological institution has taken a path of secrecy, silence and obscuntarism of the past so that it is privately dealt with quietly and silently with almost no trace that it ever happened. Since history is not an experience that you can expunge, even in the context where the museum would quietly return all this 'material', we would still have to talk about how it got there in the first place and who was responsible for its unethical acquisition. This presupposition, locates the Museum TRRC as a timeless endeavour located within a specific timeframe as it evolves the processes of restorative justice and transparency.

[796] Dumisa Ntsebeza, Endnote in Unfinished Business: South Africa Apartheid and Truth (eds) Terry Bell & Dumisa Ntsebeza (South Africa: RedWorks, 2001), p.289.
[797] Terry Bell, Unfinished Business: South Africa Apartheid and Truth (South Africa: RedWorks, 2001)

5.2 The MuseumsTRRC asks that South African Museums and universities holding collections

- Frame the natural history and ethnographic museums with dehumanizing exhibits as colonial crime scenes and sites of violence that must be held accountable for their involvement in the crimes against humanity
- Criminalize any acquisition and collection of human remains in museums
- Tell the public of the extent of their collections of sacred human remains, as well as (at least) their geographical provenance, the names of the collectors and all documentation attached to it. This information will not only inform descendants and members of concerned communities on the presence of their ancestors abroad; it is the basis for a transparent and ethical process of re-humanization and return to their descendants.
- Proactively contact concerned national and regional stakeholders to inform them on the presence of human remains from these locales in their collections.
- Inventorize the artworks, artefacts and war booty acquired during the colonial era, and grant public access to these inventories.
- Proactively contact national and regional stakeholders wherefrom art and sacred objects have been looted and seek dialogue on possible restitution by genuinely listening to their respective requests and reasons.
- Take on the urgent task to provenance their collections by compiling objects biographies that reveal conditions of acquisition, even when it appears to them that they have been acquired legally

- Invite members of the concerned communities to visit the collections, and facilitate this inter-continental exchange by financing their visit and supporting them in acquiring visas.
- Draft clear policies that relinquish stranglehold on the collections and enable smooth and uncomplicated procedure for restitution and repatriation. These policies should be made accessible to the public online and via FAQs and application forms for restitution claims.

- The Museological institution to publicly acknowledge and take responsibility for its involvement in the Crimes Against Humanity.
- Inventory and public disclosure of objects and human remains that were both 'ethically' and unethically acquired during the colonial and apartheid era.
- To repatriate all unethically collected human remains, human casts that may still be in the storage vaults of museums today
- The decolonization of museum practice: museum labels to include African languages including the Khoi and the San languages.
- Setting a roadmap towards healing and restoration of human dignity as espoused in the supreme law of the land, the constitution
- Building trust and sense of co-ownership between the museological institution and the communities to which museums are accountable.
- Uncovering the history of collecting and Linnaean systems of classification, how it intersects with race ideology and its impact on society today

5.3 The Museum Truth, Repatriation and Restitution Commission is:

- Should be a government funded restitution programme, coordinated under the Ministry of Arts and Culture by South African Heritage Resource Agency (SAHRA)
- An advisory group composed of members of concerned communities and civil society organisations, government, experts as well as museum staff and academics committed to repatriation and restitution.

5.4 The Museum Truth, Repatriation and Restitution Commission will:

- Organize hearings at a Local, Provincial and National levels during which stories of dispossession, oppression and colonial violence are heard and recorded. The testimonies that will be told during those hearings will not be judged or dismissed on grounds of being subjective, emotional or misled.
- These stories will form part of the ongoing process of the healing of the nation and restoration of human dignity
- Actively help claimants for repatriation and restitution by providing them with a network of informed stakeholders committed to repatriation and restitution.
- Support claims for repatriation and restitution with an official endorsement and professional advice on the practical implementation for such returns. This includes:

a. Legal advice on the procedure of claiming and returning human remains or artefacts.
b. Academic work that retraces as detailed as possible the conditions of acquisition and the broader colonial context within which plunder, theft or exchange happened.
c. Playing the role of mediator between the institution holding the collection and the concerned communities when issues arise that could hinder, delay or abort the process of ethical restitution.

- Publish an annual report on the repatriations and restitutions that took place and reflect on the issues that arose during those processes. These reports shall be used by museums to draft and update their own policy on transparency, repatriation and restitution.

In the Republic of South Africa the Museum TRRC should be instituted as a programme to enable transparency in the restitution process.

6.0 CONCLUSION

In this study I set my self on a journey to uncover the symbiotic intersection between museums and the construction of race ideologies in South Africa and as well as unearthing the toxic collusion between the museological institution and colonial administration. I must state it upfront that weaving the interdisciplinary content together has been a challenging experience in that it has meant venturing into the deep historical annals to uncover the very foundational discourses that created a conducive environment for notions of antediluvian race to develop in museums. It has also meant a deep critical interrogation of classical text and diaries of the early travellers and expeditors who had travelled and made contacts with peoples of the 'new worlds' in places such as the Cape of Good Hope, Australia, Canada, North America and New Zealand.

Based on the multidisciplinary material (literature, research interviews, research questionnaires, manuscripts and other sources) that I have drawn information from, it is now apparent to me that the natural history and ethnographic museums partook in the racial violence instituted by colonial and apartheid administrations, thus rendering their own institutionality a 'crime scene'. This toxic collusion between museums, colonial and apartheid administrations has directly contributed to the racist logic that positions whites at the top of the human ladder and blacks outside of humanity as savages.

My submittion of a museum *as scrime scene* seeks to invite museum goers and those who do not necessarily visit museums to be vigilant and put on their investigative lens whenever they come into contact with museums for they (museums) are not innocent spaces as many may think. Here I challenge society to see the museological institution for what it is, a site of systemic violence that has for so long been perpetuating racial inequalities and dogma without being intensely challenged by society. I have argued here that the museological institution has managed to hide its crimes, thus able to escape that necessary public anger and scrutiny that would otherwise have propelled it to drastically change, both structurally and epistemologically. I suggest that, if we are to effectively address the issue of race and racism in this country and elsewhere we ought to fix our critical gaze on natural history and anthropological museums and their role as purveyors of these racial schisms that still negatively affect sociaty today. This may be one of the ways in which we could understand the complexity and manifestation of race and cultural identity politics in South Africa.

Futher to the argument about the toxicity of the museological institution both historically and in contemporary times, I have also submitted here that museums (anthropological and natural history museums) have never been innocent or 'neutral' spaces free from the politics out of which they were born, but have for the longest time been controversial institutions in which past crimes were committed to edify race ideologies. Through their colonial legacies of typology and race 'science' they have long been purveyors of racism and contested notions of citizenship in both the empires and the colonies. In essence they are *colonial crime scenes* and sites where gross human rights violations

were committed and when a crime is committed an investigation and procecution is required to ensure that justice is served for those who may have been the victims of such crimes. I submit that, the museological institution has not been fully investigated for its role in the genocide that ensued in the brutal proccesses of the expansion of the colonial empire and because of this failure justice has not been fully served to restore the dignity of those who were on the receving end of such injustice.

In making the claim about the museum's involvement in what is termed as 'cultural genocide', I have reasoned in this study that the museological institution created exhibitionary spectacles that sought to deliberately cast Africans outside of the human race as beings located between 'modern' human and animal kingdom. This presupposition is supported by diverse materials which range from case studies such as the critical review of the 'Bushman' diorama exhibits, manuscripts letters, ethnographic gallery exhibits, the prevalence of human remains, human casts and other 'materials' found in museums. It is through a close inspection of this material that you begin to understand the psyche of the anthropologists, race 'scientists' and curators who worked as agents of both the colonial and apartheid administrations.

Further to this argument about genocide and cultural genocide, I have also argued in this study that indigenous people of these aforementioned geographical terrains (the Cape, South-West Africa, New Zealand, Australia, Canada and North America) were not the only groups that were subjected to 'scientific' experiments, but there were other

groups such as the Jews who during the holocaust were subjected to pseudo-scientific experiments by the Nazi Germany in the 1930s.

This cross-pollinating historical experience suffered by indigenous people and the Jews does to a large extent help us see how the different forms of oppression and methods of othering of those who were deemed ‘lesser’ human beings point out to an era of biological determinism where institutions such as museums and ‘scientific’ institutions were used to justify racial hierarchies. I have strongly argued that the museological institution became the colonial tool through which these colonial oppressions were justified and ‘scientificised’ to make it possible for white settler communities to usurp land occupied by indigenous people both in African and other parts of the world.

Since land was central in the confrontation between the colonizing forces and indigenes, I must highlight the point that, the review of historical context of the race pathology has given me insight into how museums also became institutions of national pride and display of power creating what Bennedict Anderson calls the “perfect” imagination of the colonial state and its matrix of power. I have framed this colonial state within the broader logic of land disposession, thus I make the claim that the notion of land dispossession was in the later years also premised on the idea of black’s “sub-humanity” perpetuated through ‘scientifized’ knowledge produced through werstern thought practiced by colonial scientists who either worked in museums or collaborated with museums. And by locationg the black body in the lacuna between humans and animals as the “missing link” the museological institution further contributed to the

‘original sin’, which is land dispossession. In this logic I directly implicate the museological institution as one of the major contributors to the continued narrative that created a conducive environment for the colonizing powers and imperialist forces to take land from those who were deemed ‘lesser’ human beings. A specific reference is made to the role of museum anthropologists who operated as conduits between the natives and the colonial state, but at the same time provided intelligence that would give the colonial and apartheid state the advantage to defeat the the natives in battles and confrontations.

Contrary to the idea that early white settler communities lived harmoniously with indigenous and native peoples, I have demotrated in this study that, the relationship between early Europeans and Indigenes was marked with colonial violence and acts of genocide in places for example such as South-West Africa, now known as Namibia and in South Africa where San people were hunted down like animals. I have discussed quite extensively in the study that, the extermination order issued by the German military commander Lothar von Trotha was one of the first merciless acts of genocide in the twentieth century. And that the involvement of the museological institution in the acquisition of human skulls acquired from these acts of gross human rights violations demonstrates the toxicity of the collusion between the museum and the colonial administration. It is thus the submission of this study that the demonstration of this collusion reiterate the argument that museums are never ‘neutral’ spaces, but part of the colonial institutionality and genocidal machinery that participated in the mass murder of the African people. It (museological institution) sought to make both economic gains

and name for itself out of the oppression of those who were deemed ‘lesser’ human beings, namely Africans. But the question that begs our indulgance is: what has been done to hold the museological institution accountable for these attrocities? It is to this question that we shall later return when I highlight the interventions that I have proposed in this study.

Another bold argument that I wish to highlight is the fact that during South Africa’s Apartheid era, the museological content presented through ethnographic exhibitions was used to enhance apartheid policies and laws of separate development which still negatively affect people’s lives today. The apartheid government used information and photographs taken from ethnographic exhibitions such as the ‘Bushman diorama’ at the South African Museum as tools to market these racist policies. For staging these exhibitions with an intention to profile indigenous groupings of South Africa in order to classify them in derogatory fashion and equating them to the animal kingdom, museums colluded with the apartheid state. They willingly fell into this race logic because of their epistemological interest to present themselves as leading institutions of ‘enlightenment’ and ‘modernity’. Speaking of ‘modernity’ and ‘enlightenment’, I have further argued that the so called modernity was nothing else but the extension of colonial violence masquerading as progress and enlightenment.

In this argument, I have deliberately made the direct link between museums and universities to argue that museums were not the only culprits, but universities too were involved in this process. Firstly, though the focus has not so much been on universities,

but I do point to how for example race ‘scientific’ practices and ‘material’ circulated between museums and universities were used to further cement institutionalized racism. Secondly, the reference to the trade in human tissues and skulls between museums and universities act as a testimony to this fact and does suggest to us that museums and universities are old allies in the bussiness of material culture and knowledge production. But offcourse, in the context of this study I have argued that the knowledge that was produced and curated by these institutions cemented the already existing colonial and apartheid propaganda that fed to the idea of the now discredited pseudo race ‘scientific’ practice.

Apart from the historical relationship between museums and universities, the study brings to light the intersection between museology and sociology. This intersection unveils the underlying layer of critical scholarship in the cross-pollinating paradigms of museology and sociology. It is perhaps this layer that has not been extensively explored in our sociological discourses on race and racism in South Africa and yet it was a foundational praxis for both colonial and apartheid administrations to construct race as a tool to engineer society.

As an attempt to highlight the significance of this intersection between museology and sociology, I have presented to the academy new terms such as ‘socio-museo-race’ and ‘museumophosis’ as tools of analysis through which we can deal with imprisoning colonial discourses that are entrenched through museological practices in the ‘post-colonial’ and ‘post-apartheid’, society. This mode of critical thinking emerges in this

study as an outcome of a rigorous and continuous process of questioning the colonial archive and its "history of dominant ideas"[798]. Further to this I also introduce what I term as the 'Fallist' lens, the way of interpreting colonial epistemology through a disrupting gaze, calling for coloniality to fall and physical closure of racist and dehumanizing ethnographic exhibitions as part of the attempts to decolonize museums. This takes us back to the question about what is to be done to hold the museological institution accountable for the role it played in the perpetuation of racial differences in South Africa.

I have answered the question of what is to be done, through an introduction of yet another process that I have termed as the Museum Truth, Repatriation and Restitution Commission (Museums TRRC). In my submision I have rationalized the Museum TRRC as a point of departure into re-shaping the epistemological foundation of the museum for today and tomorrow. I present the Museum TRRC as a sine quanon and a necessary framework through we can proccess the gravity of the injustices committed in the name of museums in South Africa.

In justifying my rationale for the establishment of the Museum TRRC, I have argued quite vehemently that, it is only when museums critically look into the inner 'soul' of their own museological practice that they can have the ability to reengineer new ways of 'seeing', 'being' and be 'seen' in the world. And this may mean that these museums will have to let go of the 'material' that was acquired as an outcome of colonial violence and

[798] Elizabeth Ewen & Stuart Ewen, Typecasting: On the Arts and Sciences of Human Inequality (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2006), p.xvi.

other forms of oppression. They may have to undo the colonial culture of accumulation and let go of that which belongs to the people, meaning they will have to empty themselves and repatriate 'material' back to it was either stolen or taken from. In so doing they (museums) will be repositioning themselves as sites of inclusivity, cultural diplomacy, healing and creation of a new ethos of community based museology that defines the true meaning of museums in the 21st Century and beyond.

Off course, there are larger questions about the global financial implications of the enterprise created through institutionalized racism in museums and legal rammifications that I have not dealt with in this thesis. These include examples such as: how much financial revenue has over centuries been generated by museums and nation states through elicit global race 'scientific' trade? And how have these institutions and others similar to them been legally obligicated to play a role in the restitution programme that seeks to restore the dignity of the communities who have been on the receiving end of the violations committed on them and their ancestors? And the study opens doors for other questions that can be further explored in future and questions such as: what are the legal raminifations that can be instituted against museums for their involvement in gross human rights violations? What instruments can be put in place to ensure that we don't repricate the same violations that have been committed before.

Underlying its hypothesis, the study also posits the sense that despite public evidence on the role museums have played in the processes of racialization, through dehumanizing museum displays, promoting eugenics and what Stephen Jay Gould calls

the “sins of science”[799] in the colonial matrices of power; there is a lack of public outcry and deep critical sociological engagement with the museum which is difficult to understand.

This question leads to other questions that also require future exploration: could it be that there is a deficit of knowledge of “the race concept” as defined by W.E.B. Du Bois in the South African academy? Is the academy suffering from collective amnesia on race and its genealogy, or is there perhaps a conspiracy of silence to hide the role of the museum as a perpetrator of crimes against humanity? Is there simply an intellectual failure to see the link between our sociological articulation of race and the production of the colonial museum and its archive?

All of this information would not have been possible without the critical engagement of existing inter-disciplinary literature, manuscripts material, research interviews, research questionnaires, public engagements, exhibition information and other material. Not only the deciphiring of textual and exhibitionary material that brought the necessary complexity to the study but also the physical visitation to sites and places where this material is housed.

A typical example is the experience of my physical tracking of the human remains of South Africans that are currently at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington DC, the Museum of Natural History in New York, the Penn Museum in Philadelphia and many

[799] see Stephen Jay Gould in The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, Histories and Infrastructures (eds) Derek R. Peterson et al. (USA: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p.135.

other institutions to which I have made reference. The physical visit to the aforementioned institutions in the United States of America provided me with tangible evidence to substantiate some of the claims I have made here. This information has been used here as a primary 'data' to demonstrate the complicity of museums in these inhumane acts, but not only this I also call on society to take these institutions to task. I have consciously put 'data' in quotation marks because of the negative connotation that it contains when referred specifically to the racialized dead in the context of this research study.

In a nutshell, the material discussed here and personal experiences do point us to conclusion that indeed museums and their musemizing processes have been and still are the quiet transmitters and "birth places" where race and racism was given face to mirror back those unspoken tragedies of silence and intergenerational trauma that today's society carries into the future. And because of this taitented legacy they must be taken through a rigoreous proccess of the Museum Truth, Repatriation and Restitution Commission in order to be decolonized and transformed from being sites of 'human wrongs' into liberating zones of 'human rights'.

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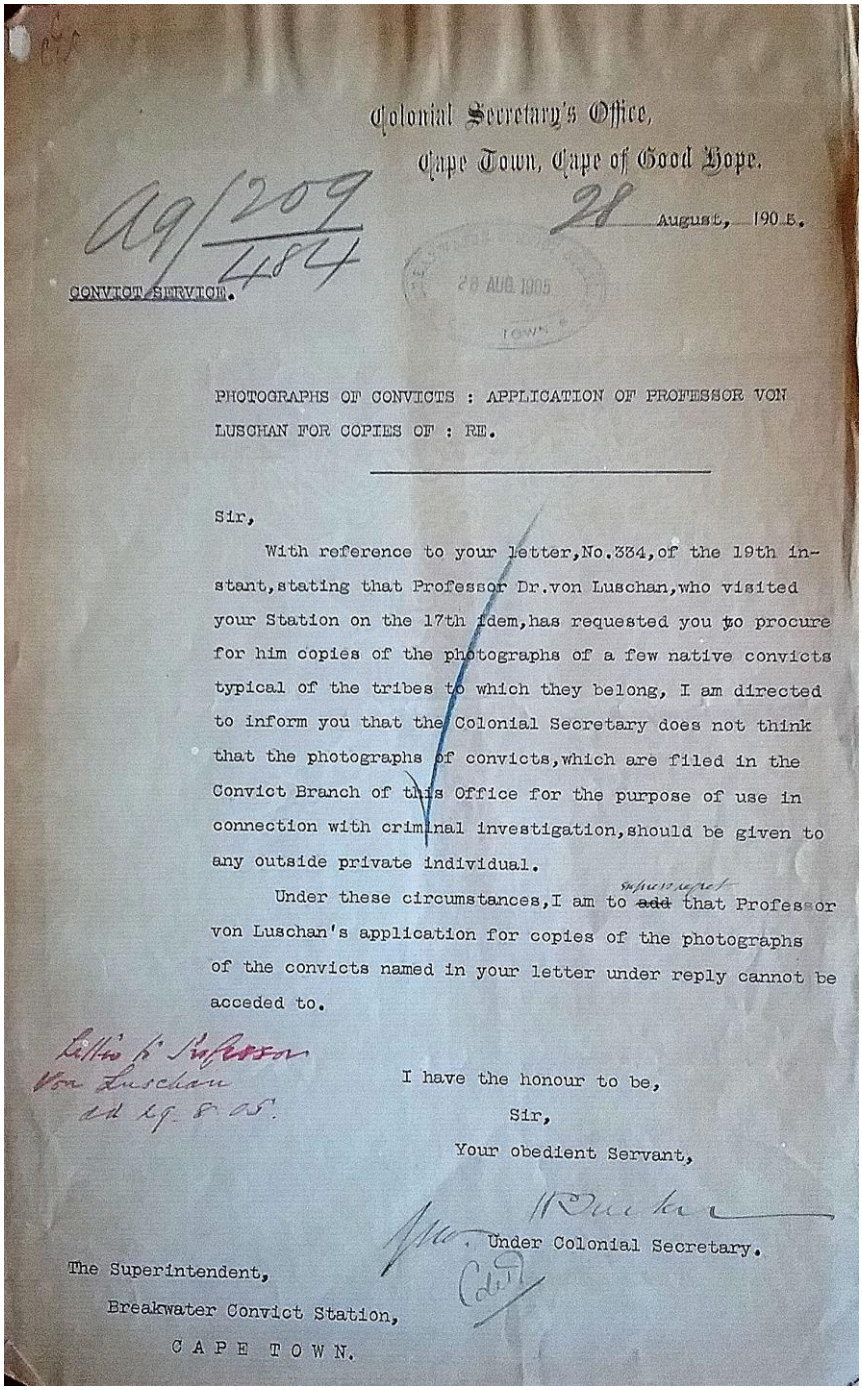
APPENDICES: APPENDIX A

A letter responding to Professor von Luschan's request he had written to the superintendent of the Breakwater Convict Station requesting for photographs of the natives. Courtesy of the National Archives of South Africa.



Colonial Secretary's Office,
Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope.

A9/209
484

28 August, 1905.

28 AUG 1905

CONVICT SERVICE.

PHOTOGRAPHS OF CONVICTS : APPLICATION OF PROFESSOR VON LUSCHAN FOR COPIES OF : RE.

Sir,

With reference to your letter, No.334, of the 19th instant, stating that Professor Dr. von Luschan, who visited your Station on the 17th idem, has requested you to procure for him copies of the photographs of a few native convicts typical of the tribes to which they belong, I am directed to inform you that the Colonial Secretary does not think that the photographs of convicts, which are filed in the Convict Branch of this Office for the purpose of use in connection with criminal investigation, should be given to any outside private individual.

Under these circumstances, I am to ~~add~~ that Professor von Luschan's application for copies of the photographs of the convicts named in your letter under reply cannot be acceded to.

Letter to Professor
Von Luschan
dd 29. 8. 05.

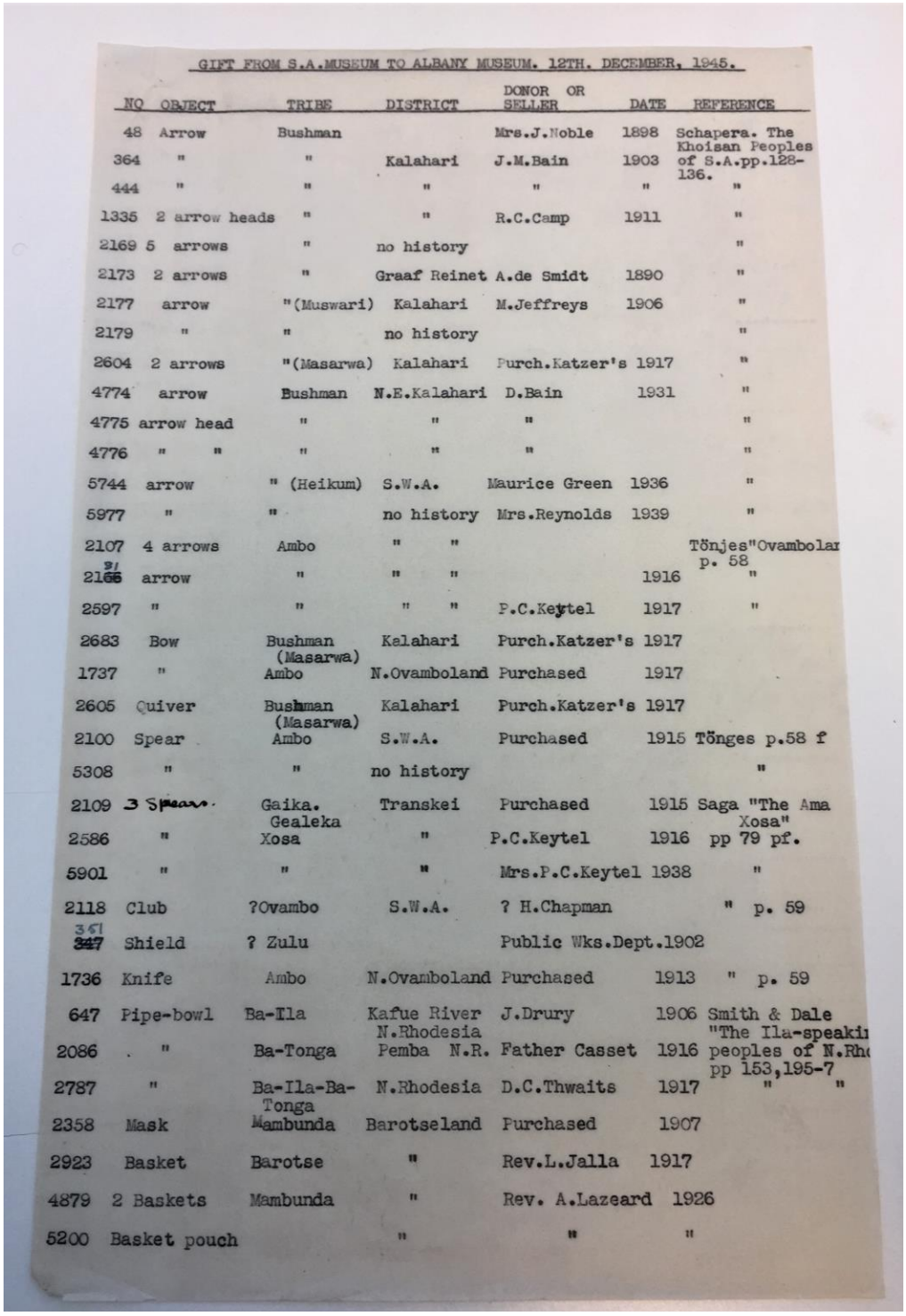
I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

Under Colonial Secretary.

The Superintendent,
Breakwater Convict Station,
CAPE TOWN.

Appendix B

‘Gift from the South African Museum to Albany Museum, 12 December 1945’

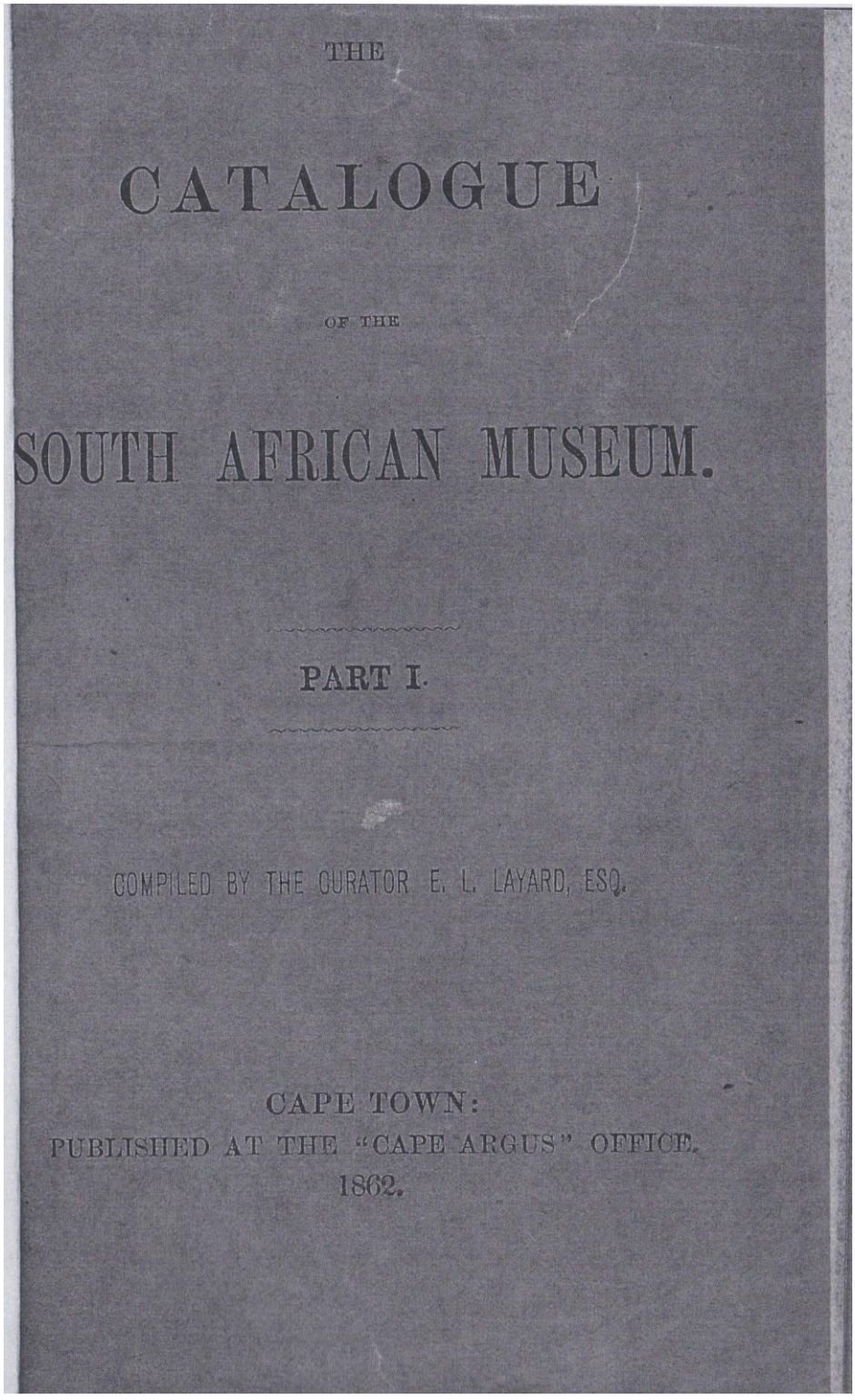


GIFT FROM S.A.MUSEUM TO ALBANY MUSEUM. 12TH. DECEMBER, 1945.

NO	OBJECT	TRIBE	DISTRICT	DONOR OR SELLER	DATE	REFERENCE
48	Arrow	Bushman		Mrs.J.Noble	1898	Schapera. The Khoisan Peoples of S.A.pp.128-136.
364	"	"	Kalahari	J.M.Bain	1903	
444	"	"	"	"	"	"
1335	2 arrow heads	"	"	R.C.Camp	1911	"
2169	5 arrows	"	no history			"
2173	2 arrows	"	Graaf Reinet	A.de Smidt	1890	"
2177	arrow	"(Muswari)	Kalahari	M.Jeffreys	1906	"
2179	"	"	no history			"
2604	2 arrows	"(Masarwa)	Kalahari	Purch.Katzer's	1917	"
4774	arrow	Bushman	N.E.Kalahari	D.Bain	1931	"
4775	arrow head	"	"	"		"
4776	" "	"	"	"		"
5744	arrow	" (Heikum)	S.W.A.	Maurice Green	1936	"
5977	"	"	no history	Mrs.Reynolds	1939	"
2107	4 arrows	Ambo	" "			Tönjes"Ovambolar p. 58
2166	arrow	"	" "		1916	"
2597	"	"	" "	P.C.Keytel	1917	"
2683	Bow	Bushman (Masarwa)	Kalahari	Purch.Katzer's	1917	
1737	"	Ambo	N.Ovamboland	Purchased	1917	
2605	Quiver	Bushman (Masarwa)	Kalahari	Purch.Katzer's	1917	
2100	Spear	Ambo	S.W.A.	Purchased	1915	Tönges p.58 f
5308	"	"	no history			"
2109	3 Spears	Gaika. Gealeka	Transkei	Purchased	1915	Saga "The Ama Xosa"
2586	"	Xosa	"	P.C.Keytel	1916	pp 79 pf.
5901	"	"	"	Mrs.P.C.Keytel	1938	"
2118	Club	?Ovambo	S.W.A.	? H.Chapman	"	p. 59
347	Shield	? Zulu		Public Wks.Dept.	1902	
1736	Knife	Ambo	N.Ovamboland	Purchased	1913	" p. 59
647	Pipe-bowl	Ba-Ila	Kafue River N.Rhodesia	J.Drury	1906	Smith & Dale "The Ila-speaki
2086	"	Ba-Tonga	Pemba N.R.	Father Casset	1916	peoples of N.Rh pp 153,195-7
2787	"	Ba-Ila-Ba-Tonga	N.Rhodesia	D.C.Thwaits	1917	" "
2358	Mask	Mambunda	Barotseland	Purchased	1907	
2923	Basket	Barotse	"	Rev.L.Jalla	1917	
4879	2 Baskets	Mambunda	"	Rev. A.Lazeard	1926	
5200	Basket pouch		"	"	"	

APPENDIX C

Cover page of the Iziko South African Museum's Catalogue of the Collections compiled by Edgar Leopold Layard in 1862



THE

CATALOGUE

OF THE

SOUTH AFRICAN MUSEUM.

PART I.

COMPILED BY THE CURATOR E. L. LAYARD, ESQ.

CAPE TOWN:
PUBLISHED AT THE "CAPE ARGUS" OFFICE.
1862.

APPENDIX D

A Section in Edgar Leopold Layard Catalogue of the South African Museum's Collection compiled in 1862

distinguish it better than any other that is external."—(Cuvier.)

Cuvier divided the Mammalia into nine orders: Bimana, Quadrumana, Carnaria, Marsupiata, Rodentia, Edentata, Pachydermata, Ruminantia, and Cetacea.

This arrangement has been objected to, and modified by several authors; in fact, almost every naturalist of note has put forth his own idea of a natural classification. It seems, however, pretty generally agreed upon now that the *Marsupiata* should be removed to the end of the chain, and form the link into the next class, that of the Birds (*Aves*), as being the lowest organized of Mammalians producing their young "in a state of development scarcely comparable to that of an ordinary fœtus, a few days after conception."—(Cuvier.) Having, however, selected the classification of Cuvier, we prefer to leave his arrangement complete, and allow the student to chose his own guide.

ORDER No. 1—BIMANA.

HOMO SAPIENS.—MAN.

Caucasian Race.

a. Skeleton of French officer who fought and fell at Wagram. Presented by A. Jenken, Esq.

b. Skeleton of Fœtus (Hollander). Presented by J. Wilson, Esq.

c. Cranium of Patrick Ryan (Irishman), murderer. Presented by C. A. Fairbridge, Esq.

d. Cranium from the graves of the "Waterloo," probably that of an English convict.

Mongolian Race.

e. Cranium of Chinaman who died in Somerset Hospital. Presented by Dr. Bickersteth.

Ethiopian or Negro Race.

f. Cranium of Gaika Kafir, named Tengello, an attendant of the Kafir Chief Kona, son of Macomo, son

of Jaika. He was killed on the 21st of January, 1851, while engaged in an attack made upon Alice and Fort Hare by Sandilli, the Great Chief of the Gaikas with 3,000 warriors. His age was about twenty-five years.

g. Cranium of Damara warrior.

h. Cranium of Bushman from the Botletle River. Presented by Dr. Holden.

i. Cranium of very aged Moçambicer slave, probably from East Coast of Africa, if not Cape born.

j. k. Crania, unknown. Presented by G. H. Heise, Esq.

l. Cranium, dissected. Presented by Dr. Bickersteth.

m. Leather made from human skin. Presented by C. A. Fairbridge, Esq.

At the head of the Mammalia, man stands forth pre-eminent. He belongs to the order *Bimana* of Cuvier;—according to Dr. Gray, a distinct family Hominidæ. In a catalogue such as this, it is not necessary to enter into "the particular details of his differences from other Mammalia or of the points in which he agrees with them;" as Linnæus remarks, "One distinctive circumstance separates man from them all,—he alone worships God, and anticipates immortality." An American writer has condensed an account of his habits in two lines, in which he states that man is omnivorous, disputes for territory, and unites with his fellows for the express purpose of destroying his own species. Man has hands to the anterior extremities only (whence his name), and walks erect, supported on his hinder limbs, the great toes of his feet being on the same level with the other toes, and not opposable to them. There is but one genus and one species, *Homo Sapiens*, of which there are numerous varieties.—(Adam White.)

Man was not designed for walking on all fours, but to be supported by the feet only; "he thus preserves the entire use of his hands for the arts, while his organs of sense are most favourably situated for observation."—(Cuvier.)

APPENDIX E

A selective timeline that outlines the management and changes from the South African Museum to Iziko Museums of Cape Town and then to Iziko Museums of South Africa: (1825 – 2019)

(*This timeline does not include all events and names of people who have shaped the institution in the mentioned period, but just a selection of few)

YEAR	EVENT	Field/s
1825	The South African Museum (SAM) was founded as a public institution by the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, Lord Charles Somerset. The SAM was housed in an apartment in the Public Library, situated in part of the building now occupied by the South African Cultural History Museum.	The early collections included minerals, shells, fishes, reptiles, birds, mammals and ethnographic material.
1825-1837	Dr Andrew Smith an Edinburgh-trained army surgeon was appointed as the first 'Superintendent' of the SAM.	
1825 (Friday 8 July)	The first list of donations that people had donated to the museum and these specimens ranged from quadrupeds, birds, reptiles, various kinds of fish, shells, insects, minerals etc.	
1825 (12 August)	“the Gazette of Friday, 12 August, 1825, contained a second list of donations, together with the names of the donors.”	
1825 (23 September)	“a third list of donations with the names of the donors, appeared in the *Gazette* of Friday, 23 September 1825.”	

1825 (4 November)	“a fourth list of donations to the Museum was printed in the Gazette of Friday, 4 November 1825.”	
1825 - 1829	John Minton was the servant of Dr. Andrew Smith and also acted as taxidermist (R.FH. Summers: A history of The South African Museum: 1825-1975 (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1975), p.227.	
1828	“Owing to the existence of great dissatisfaction on on the northern border of the colony, in consequence of the marauding practices of the Bushmen of the Orange river, Dr Smith was commissioned by Sir R. Bourke…to proceed thither to obtain information regarding their ways, and ascertain from them, whether the policy of the Governmnet was correctly understood and appreciated.” (Kirby, 1939: 14)	
1829	Jules Verreaux, a French taxidermist, associated with the SAM from its founding, took over responsibility for the collections from Andrew Smith, who was away from the Cape for extended period on expeditions to the interior.	
1830	“It was decide by Sir Lowry Cole, the new Governor, to send Dr. Smith to examine the country, and report the results of his observations.” (Kirby, 1939: 14)	
1830 - 1838	Jules Verreaux, Keeper (R.FH. Summers: A history of The South African Museum: 1825-1975 (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1975), p.227.	
1832	The Museum Collection had moved to Garden Machtenburg on Looyer’s Plein (http://capetownhistory.com/?page_id=393)	
1837	Andrew Smith returned to England, where specimens collected on his expeditions were exhibited and sold to defray costs. Relatively few items collected by Andrew Smith remained in the SAM.	
1837	Von Ludwig withdrew his birds, insects and herbarium from the Museum displays.	
1837 – 1855	The South African Museum Collection is neglected	

1838	Remaining museum collections moved to the South African College.	
1838	"It was moved from Looyers Plein to the Orphan House in Long Street, home of the College, and became a teaching aid" (http://capetownhistory.com/?page_id=393)	
1838	German naturalist Ferdinand Krauss visits Cape Town and describes the Museum in enthusiastic terms	
1843	Henry Methuen describes the Museum collection as "discreditable to the Colony" (R.F.H. Summers, 1975: 19)	
1855	"In 1855 there were many people in Cape Town strongly in favour of a properly organized museum. After a Select Committee of the House of Assembly had reported favourably on the formation of a public or national museum, H.E. the Governor, Sir George Grey, inaugerated by Proclamation on the 25 June, 1855, the (second) South African Museum to be managed by three trustees with a suitable curator in charge" (Sibbett, 1955: 1) Edgar Leopold Layard was appointed as the Curator of the South African Museum.	
1855 – 1872	Edgar Leopold Layard, Curator (resigned, Birds appointed H.M. Consul at Para)	Curator
1855 – 1859	Alexis Verreaux	Intermittently taxidermist
1855-1860	The Hon. Rawson W. Rawson, Colonial Secretary resigned (REPRESENTATIVE OF THE GOVERNMENT, TRUSTEES)	Trustee
1855-1862	Dr Lugwig Pappe, Medical Practitioner (died) Trustee	Trustee
1855 – 1863	J.F. Kirsten	Assistant taxidermist
1855-1879	Sir Thomas Mclear, F.R,S – H.M. Astronomer at the Cape Trustee	Trustee
1856	"After it had been inspected by H.E. the Governor, the museum was opened to the public on Tuesday 15 January 1856" (Cecil Sibbett)	
1856 – 1857	The Reverend John Fry	Acting Curator
1857	"The former Proclamation was superseded by the South African Museum Incorporation Act (No. 17 of 1857)" (Sibbett, 1955: 2)	
1858	"A joint building committee for a new library and	

	museum was formed; a site was granted by the Governor at the lower end of the Botanic Gardens, as they were then known. Parliament voted the money; and a foundation stone of the new building was laid by Sir George Grey on 23rd March, 1858." (Sibbett, 1955: 3)	
1859	Joseph Butler	Assistant taxidermist/caretaker
1859-1860	"From November, 1859, to February, 1860, the collections were being transferred…" (Sibbett, 1955: 3)	
1860-1893	Charles Aken Fairbridge, M.L.A. (died)	Trustee
1860	A new building for the Museum and Library was opened by HRH Prince Albert in the presence of Sir George Grey. By the mid-1880s the building was too small and plans for a new building were initiated. Interior of the Museum, about 1880, showing the addition of two galleries. Note the fossil buffalo horns and the group of Polynesian paddles.	
1861	Butler (employed by the Trustee as a taxidermist when Edgar Leopold Layard was away to New Zealand with Sir George Grey (Report of the Trustees of the South African Museum, for Year 1862)	Taxidermist
1861	Edgar Leopold Layard "accompanied Sir George Grey, in August 1861, to New Zealand as private secretary" 9Report of the Trustees of the South African Museum, for the Year 1861)	
1862	"…the Museum could not afford to buy Dr. Pappe's library when it came into the market after his death, but many of his books were bought up by local people and given to the Museum." (R.F.H. Summers, 1975: 44-45)	
1863	"…432 books were said to have been deposited into the Public Library…" (R.F.H. Summers, 1975: 44)	
1865-1874	The Hon. R. Southey, Colonial Secretary (resigned)	Trustee
1868	Lower gallery around the wall added	
1870 – 1872	Henry W. Piers	Acting Curator
1871	"//Kabbo and /A!Kunta went on tour round the 'Noah Ark' mammalian series arrayed in the central aisle of the museum back in 1871" (Banks, 2006: 347)	

1872-1895	Roland Trimen , FRS., Curator (insects resigned for health reasons)	Curator
1873	Books are recalled to the Museum (R.F.H. Summers, 1975: 44)	
1874	"…the ceiling of the Museum promised to collapse, but the Public Works Department denied the liability for repair as the building was not owned by the government." (R.F.H. Summers, 1975: 39)	
1875-1926	The Hon John Xavier Merriman, M.LA. (died) (Government)	Trustee
1875	"An accurate register of visitors was started…" (Sibbett, 1955: 5)	
1875 – 1896	Thomas Butler	Taxidermist
1876	Upper gallery around the wall added	
1876	PG Furze	Acting Curator
1879	Sir Thomas Maclear, FRS	Chairman, Trustees
1879-1884	H.W. Oakley, Assistant (died)	Assistant Curator
1879-1906	David Gill (later Sir David Gill, F.R.S.) H.M. Astronomer at the Cape (resigned)	Trustee
1881 - 1882	Museum closed due to the ceiling that had colapsed	
1884	The Museum had problems with dumpness in the basement	
1884-1924	L.A. Peringuey, Director 1906 Insects and Archaeology Died in 1924	Trustee
1886	E.R. Howes	Assistant taxidermist
1888-1921	R.M. Lightfoot (died) Shells	Clerical Assistant
1893-1934	Thomas Muir (later Sir Thomas Muir, F.R.S) (died) (Chairman 1926 – 1934) (Government)	Trustee
1894 – 1903	J.H. Paynter	Administration
1895-1902	Dr. G.S. Corstorphine	Honorary Keeper, Geology
1895	"…Trimen gave the Museum his whole private library consisting of 126 bound books and 436 loose pamphlets and periodicals." (R.F.H. Summers, 1975: 45)	
1895	"A new building, solely for the use of the museum, was erected on Government property known as 'The Wilderness' above the Municipal Gardens.	

	The building was begun early in 1895, but was not completed until January, 1896.	
1896	J.W. Fisher Gilchrist, PhD	Honorary Keeper of Marine Biology
1896 – 1899	P. Looby	Administration, attendant
1896	Building completed	
1896	Louis Albert Peringuey in charge of invertebrate collections.	Assistant Director
1896 – 1901	Lewis T. Griffin	Taxidermist
1896-1906	William Lutley Sclater, Director (resigned to take appointment overseas) Mammals and birds	Director
1896-1909	Dr. J.D.F. Gilchrist	Honorary Keeper, Marine Zoology
1896-1905	W.F. Purcell, PhD (resigned appointed Honorary Keeper) Spiders	First Assistant, Departmnet of invertebrates
1897	On 6 April the new building was opened by the Prime Minister, Sir Gordon Sprigg. William Sclater (vertebrate zoologist) had been appointed as Director the previous year and the following decade was one of unprecedented growth for the SAM.	
1897	J. Hardy	Administration, attendant
1897	John Jeffersen	Administration, attendant
1897	J.W. Vickers	Administration, attendant
1898	T. Williams	Administration, attendant
1898	The first issue of the Annals of the South African Museum was published; to date 104 volumes have been published	
1899	T.D. Butler	Administration, attendant
1901-1908	Miss M. Wilman (resigned appointed first Curator	Geology

	of McGregor Museum, Kimberly) Geology	
1901 – 1902	W.J. Davis	Messenger
1902-1916	Dr. A.W. Rogers	Honorary Keeper, Geology
1902 – 1908	Maria Wilman	Assistant in Geology
1902	D. Lewsley	Administration, attendant
1902	James Drury	Taxidermist
1902 – 1903	Guy Shortridge	Acting taxidermist
1902 – 1918	A.W. Rogers	Honorary Keeper of Mineralogical and Geological Collections
1902 – 1903	H. Lesar	Messenger
1903	H. Miller	Messenger
1904	J. Lighgow	Administration, attendant
1905	Robert Broom	Honorary Keeper of Vertebrate Palaentology
1905-1906	Miss S. Treleven (temporarily seconded from Agricultural Department) Botany	Botany
1905-1908	Dr. W.F. Purcell	Honorary Keeper, Land Invertebrates (excl insects)
1905 – 1911	Henry H.W. Pearson, PhD	Honorary Keeper of Hebarium
1905	S. Trevelean	Assistant in Hebarium
1905-1910	Robert Broom, BSc, MB, CM	Honorary Keeper, vertebrate Palaeontology
1905-1911	Prof. H.H.W. Pearson	Honorary Keeper, Botany

1906 – 1924	Louis Albert Péringuey (entomologist) was appointed as Director.	Entomology
1907-1918	E.P. Phillips (resigned, appointed to division of Botany) Botany	Botany
1907-1911	Dr Harry Bolus, F.L.S (died)	Trustee
1908-1911	A.R.E. Walker (resigned, appointed to the staff of the South African College) Geology	Assistant in Geology
1911	K.H. Barnard, (Director 1942)	Marine Zoology
1910 – 1912	W. Tyson	Temprary assistant in Botany
1911	R.F. Lawrence, PhD	Assistant in charge of Anthropoda
1911-1920	S.H. Haughton (resigned, appointed to Geological Survey) Fossils	Geological Survey
1912	"Mr. A.S. Michie brother of Alexander, wrote to the Trustees of the South African Museum, Cape Town, and offered them thirteen manuscript Imperial Octavo volumes, in the handwriting of Smith, as he considered that the Library of the Museum was the most appropriate place for them" (Kirby, 1939: pp-10-11)	
1912-1930	John William Jagger, M.L.A. (died) (Government)	Trustee
1913	M. Nothing	Resident Curator, Kppmans de Wet House
1913	J. McLean	Relief Attendant
1913	J.P. Volkwyn	Attendant at Koopmans de Wet
1914-1921	R.W.E. Tucker (resigned, appointed to division of Entomology) Spiders	Entomology
1914 – 1920	Sidney Henry Haughton, MA, DSc	Assistant Director
1917	R.N. Clarke	Attendant
1917	T.J. Inglesby	Attendant
1917	J. Thaysen	Administration, Learner
1918-1929	A.L.Hall	Honorary Keeper, Geology
1918 – 1919	A.L. Hall, PhD	Honorary Keeper of

		Geology
1918 – 1919	W.J. Foley	Temporary assistant in Botany
1920-1937	Miss S. Garabedian (resigned to take appointment overseas) Botany	Botany
1920	B. Olley	Attendant
1920 – 1924	Keppel Harcourt Barnard	Assistant Director
1921 – 1922	Stanley Gilman	Botanical assistant
1921-1923	Prof. D. Thoday	Honorary keeper, Botany
1920	Star Garabedian, BA	Incharge of the department
1920 – 1924	Keppel Harcourt Barnard, MA, DSc	Assistant Director
1921 – 1924	A.D. Divine	Clerical Assistant
1921-1934	Dr. S.H. Haughton	Honorary keeper, Palaentology and Geology
1922-1935	R.F. Lawrence (resigned, appointed Director, Natal Museum, Pietermaritzburg) Spiders and Reptiles	Spiders and Reptiles
1922 – 1923	D. Thoday, MA	Honorably Keeper of Herbarium
1922	C.W. Thorpe	Botanical and later general assistant
1922	P.Edwards	Typist
1923	A substantial ‘shed’ was built to protect the whale-skeletons	
1924	A.J. Hesse (Insects)	Assistant, entomologist
1925	An amending Act was passed to increase the number of trustees to five, to include in addition to the three appointed by the Government, a representative each of the Royal Society of South Africa and of the Cape Town Municipality. (Sibbett, 1955: 4)	

1925-1930	Councillor W.F. Fish	Representative of the Corporation of Cape Town
1925-1942	Edwin Leonard Gill Director (retired) Birds	Director
1925 – 1942	Keppel Harcourt Barnard	Assistant director
1925-1939	Prof. W.A. Jolly, M.B., Ch.B.,D.Sc., (died)	(Trustee) Representative of the Royal Society of South Africa)
1926-1940	J.G. van der Horst (regined) (Chairman 1934 – 1940) (Government)	Trustee
1927	L.D. Boonstra (Karoo Fossils)	Karoo Fossils
1930	The marine biology building was doubled in size in 1930 to accommodate all the 'spirit' collections.	
1930	John A.Goodwin	Entomology and Archaeology
1930-1942	W.J. Thorne (Chairman 1940 1942) (Government)	Trustee
1930-1931	Councillor S.J. Hendricksz (City Council)	Trustee: Representative of the Corporation of Cape Town
1931 – 1937	Professor C.G.S. de Villiers (Government)	Trustee
1932-1933	Councillor W. Brinton	Trustee: Representative of the Corporation of Cape Town
1933	Margaret Shaw (Ethnology)	Ethnology
1934-1936	Councillor, D.F. Bosman	Trustee: Representative of the Corporation of Cape Town
1934-1936	Prof. C.G.S. de Villiers	Trustee
1937	Councillor, A.J. MacCallum	Representative of the Corporation of Cape Town
1936-1939	R.H.N. Smithers (resigned for war work…)	Spiders

	Spiders	
1937	The Departments of Archaeology and Palaentology have had their offices and store-rooms	
1937 – 1938	Councillor A.J. MacCallum (City Council)	Trustee
1937-1955	Prof D.S. Scholtz (Government)	Trustee
1938	J.G. Lewis	
1939-1946	Prof. M.R. Drennan, M.A., Ch.B.	Trustee: Representative of the Royal Society of South Africa)
1939 – 1948	M.G. Boraine	Attendant
1940-1955	Cecil J. Sibbett	Trustee
1941 – 1948	Councillor D.F. Bosman	Chairman of the Trustees
1942 – 1950	J.K. Turnbull	Taxidermist
1942 – 1943	P. van Tonder	Clerical assistant
1942-1956	Dr. Kepple Harcourt Barnard	Director of the South African Museum
1942 – 1946	A. Barwick	Temporary botanical assistant
1943-1952	Dr. H.S. Skaife, J.P.	Trustee
1943 – 1944	M. van Heerde	Clerical assistant
1944 – 1948	A. Safi	Skinner, Taxidermy
1945	Miss Marcus	Temporary clerical assistant
1945	Miss Malherbe	Temporary clerical assistant
1945	Mrs. C.E. Kemp	Clerical assistant
1945	B. Olley	Attendant
1945	A.G. Lawrence	Museum attendant
1945 – 1947	Claud Smith	Museum Attendant

1946	Dr Keppel Barnard (ichthyologist and invertebrate specialist) was appointed as Director.	Ichthyologist and invertebrate specialist
1946-1955	Prof. R.S. Adamson	(Trustee) Representative of the Royal Society of South Africa)
1946 – 1952	D. Davis	Botanical assistant
1947 – 1949	H. Andreae, D. Phil	Hornorary worker
1947 – 1948	M. Theron	Museum Attendant
1948	"The museum was transferred from the Department of the Interior to that of Education, Arts nd Science…"(Sibbett, 1955: 4)	
1948 – 1951	F. Wright	Museum Attendant
1949-1952	Councillor Rev. S.P. Fort	Representative of the Corporation of Cape Town
1949	K.Kruger	Museum Attendant
1949 – 1958	C.J. Sibbert (Businessman)	Chairman of Trustees
1949 – 1967	Hon Coleopterist	Staff
1950	H.G. Wood	Voluntary entomological collector
1950 – 1951	Van Aswegen	Museum Attendant
1951 – 1956	N.H. Pietersen	Museum Attendant

1951	A. Meyer	Museum Attendant
1950s	Changes in governance and funding were introduced after the passing of the State-aided Institutions Amendment Act in 1954. Working conditions improved but the Trustees lost much of their former autonomy.	
1951	A.C. Koch	Museum Attendant
1952 – 1958	Councillor H.E. Gearing	Trustee: Representative of the Corporation of Cape Town
1952	R. Wikner	Botanical assistant
1953	S.M. Bruins	Librarian
1952 – 1953	D. Peacock	Botanical assistant
1953	I. Willment	Botanical assistant
1953 – 1955	J.M. Feeley	Honorary keeper, Ornithology
1954	The museum “was formally proclaimed a State-aided Institution under the Department of Education, Arts and Science” (Sibbett, 1955: 4)	
1955	Dr. J.M. Winterbottom	Honorary keeper, Ornithology
1955	Dr. C.F. Albertyn (Government)	Trustee
1955 – 1963	Ione Rudner	Technical assistant in Anthropology
1955	Phillips	Temporary Museum Attendant
1955 – 1959	D.H. van Zijl Senator	Chairman of Trustees

1956 – 1965	R. Singer, MB, ChB, DSc	Honorary Keeper of Human Palaentology
1956	B.S. Griffin	Honorary Curator of Arms and Armour
1956	T.P. Stokoe	Honorary Botanical collector
1956	Walter Rose, LDS, RCS	Honorary Reptiles and Amphibians
1956	C.J. Lewis, PhD	In charge of Botanical department
1956 – 1964	Dr. Alfred Walter Crompton (palaeontologist) was appointed as Director. The first specialist exhibition designers were employed. The diorama of a hunter-gatherer camp in the Karoo was completed in 1959, incorporating the life-casts that had been produced in the early decades of the century.	Director
1956 – 1964	K.H. Barnard	Honorary curator of Marine Collections and CSIR Senior Bursar
1957 – 1964	Frank Hamilton Talbot, PhD	In charge of the department of Marine Biology
1958 – 1963	Mary A. Cook, MN, ChB	Historian
1958	S.X. Kannemeyer	Tectical assistant, Marine Biology
1958	A.R.G. du Toit	Technical Assistant, Palaentology
1958	Dr. W.E.G. Louw (Government)	Trustee

1958	Councillor Lily Anderson	Trustee representing City Council
1958	Professor H.B. Thom (University of Stellenboch)	Trustee
1958 – 1960	Dr. J.G. Meiring (Provincial administration)	Trustee
1958 – 1961	Professor W.E. Issac (University of Cape Town)	Trustee
1959	M.P. Wellstood-White	Technical assistant, Palaentology
1959	M.G. Plummer	Voluntary worker in human sciences
1959	Frederick W. Gess	Assistant entomologist
1959	C.E. Gow	Technical assistant, Palaentology
1960	Dr Douglas Hey (Provincial administration)	Trustee
1960 – 1964	Frank Hamilton Talbot D.Sc.	Assiatnt Director
1960	M.W.M. Pope, MA	Honorary Curator of Classical Collections
1960	M.J. Penrith BSc (Hons)	Marine Biologist seconded from CSIR Oceanographic Unit, University od Cape Town
1960s	The ‘Historical Collections’ of the SAM were transferred to the a newly formed Cultural History division of the SAM, housed in the Old Supreme	

	Court building (the same building had housed the SAM in 1825, and before that it had been the Dutch East India Company's Slave Lodge).	
1961	F.J. Wagener (Government)	Trustee
1961	Councillor W.L. Young, alternate for Mrs Anderson	Trustee: City Council
1961	Professor J.P. Dumminy (University of Cape Town)	Trustee
1961	Professor Donald Inskin, alternate for Prof Duminny (University of Cape Town)	Trustee
1961	Prof C.A. du Toit, alternate for Professor Thom (University of Stellenboch)	Trustee
1961	H. Eastland	Library stack-attendant
1961 – 1964	A.C. van Jaarsveld (Mrs Lawton) MA	HSRC research assistant, Ethnology
1962	M.L. Wapenaar (Mrs. Penrith	Research assistant, CSIR
1962	Q.B. Hendey	Honorary Cainozoic Palaentologist
1962	D. du Plessis, BSc	Temporary research assistant, Marine Biology
1963	Peter B. Best, MA	Honorary Curator of Marine Mammals
1963 - 1964	E.F. Appleyard	Part-time librarian

1964	J.R. Grindley, MSc	Marine biologist
1964	N.F. Paterson, PhD	CSIR Senior Bursar, Marine Biology
1964	Dr. J.K. Thomson, alternate for Dr Hey	Trustee
1964 - 1966	The Lady de Villiers	Curator, Printing Museum
1964 - 1984	Dr. Thomas Henry Barry (palaeontologist) was appointed Director in 1964.	Director
1966	The Slave Lodge, then known as the SA Cultural *History* Museum, opened its door as a museum on 6 April 1966	
1969	The South African Cultural History Museum became an independent museum.	
1975	The SAM celebrated its 150th anniversary.	
1985	Dr M Cluver (palaeontologist) was appointed Director.	Palaeontologist
1987	Major extensions to the SAM were completed and opened to the public - these included much improved storage for collections and research facilities, as well as new public galleries, the most striking being the Whale Well. The new Planetarium was launched.	
1997	In April the SAM celebrated the centenary of being on its present site	
1997	Nelson Mandela commented on the racist nature of the 'Bushmen' diorama exhibition in his heritage day speech: http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/address-president-mandela-heritage-day-robben-island-24-september-1997	
1998	Iziko was originally established as the Southern flagship institution	
1999-2002	Jack Christopher Lohman is appointed the Chief Executive Officer of the newly Amalgamated Iziko Museums of Cape Town	Educator & Administrator

2001	Iziko Museums of South Africa closes down the 'Bushmen' Diorama exhibition due to public outcry	
2002 - 2010	Jatti Bredekamp appointed the Chief Executive Officer of Iziko Museums of Cape Town	Academic, historian, educator, researcher, writer
2002 - 2003	Dr. CV Jones (Chairman)	Writer
2002 - 2003	Prof T.M Crowe	Associate Professor, Percy Fitzpatrick Institute, University of Cape Town
2002 - 2003	Prof H.J. Deacon	Research Fellow, University of Stellenbosch
2002 - 2003	Prof R.H. du Pre	Executive Director of the Committee of Technikon Principals, Pretoria Technikon
2002 - 2003	R.J. Monaisa	Management consultant
2002 - 2003	S.M. Ozinsky	Manager, Cape Town Tourism
2002 - 2003	Prof. Emeritus K.M. Skawran	Former Head of the Department of History of Art and Fine Art, UNISA
2002 - 2003	Dr. B.O. Tema	Chief Director of Public Science and International Liaison,

		Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology
2002 - 2003	K.V. Thathia	Head of the Department of Visual Arts and Design, Faculty of Humanities, Vaal Triangle Technikon
2002 - 2003	E.A. Voigt	Archaeo-zoologist and heritage and museum consultant
2003 - 2006	Dr. Eltie Links	Head, Corporate Citizenship, Santam.
2003 - 2006	Dr. June Bam	CEO of the SA History Project, Department of Education
2003 - 2006	Lincoln Bernardo	CEO of Omkhai
2003 - 2006	Prof. Hilary Deacon:	Research Fellow, University of Stellenbosch
2003 - 2006	Dr. Mike Fabricius	CEO of the Western Cape Tourism Board
2003 - 2006	Zanele Hlatshwayo	University of the Witwatersrand
2003 - 2006	Prof. Andries Oliphant	Department of Theory of Literature, UNISA
2003 - 2006	Sheryl Ozinsky	Manager of Cape Town Tourism

2003 - 2006	Evelyn Senna	Sandton Civic Gallery
2003 - 2006	Prof. Karin Skawra	Art historian and painter.
2003 - 2006	Prof. Crain Soudien	Head of the Department of Education, University of Cape Town
2004	R. G. Nicholls	(Chairperson) (Independent)
2004 -	M. C. Brewis	(Independent)
2004	Adv. D. J. Mitchell	
2004	Dr M. Fabricius	(Non-executive Council Member)
2004	Dr E. Links	(Chairperson of Council)
2006	Prof. R du Pré	
2006	E Links	
2006	M Ledimo	
2006	S Proselendis	
2006	D Mitchell	

2006	C Rassool	
2006	P Madiba	
2006	S Jeppie	
2006	R Nayager	
2007	Dr Elias Links (Chairperson)	
2007	Adv. Dave Mitchell (Deputy Chairperson)	
2007	Prof. Roy du Pré	
2007	Dr. Shamil Jeppie	
2007	Moleleki Frank Ledimo	
2007	Pumla Madiba	
2007	Prof. Pragashan Nayagar	
2007	Sandra Prosalendis	
2007	Prof. Ciraj Rassool	
2008	Dr Elias Links	

2008		
2008	Adv. Dave Mitchell	
2008	Prof Roy du Pré,	
2008	Dr Shamil Jeppie	
2008	Pumla Madiba	
2008	Prof Pragashan Nayagar,	
2008	Sandra Prosalendis	
2008	Prof Ciraj Rassool	
2008	Prof Henry C. (Jatti) Bredekamp (Ex Officio)	
2009	On 19th May 2009, Iziko Education and Public Programmes marked 350 years (semiseptcentennial) since the KhoiSan-Dutch confrontation of 1659 in the Cape.	
2010	On 25 September 2010, Iziko Education and Public Programmes organized a symposium to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the Khoi/Almeida confrontation in the Rock Art Gallery	
2010 - 2013	Adv. M. Brenda Madumise	(Chairman)
2010 - 2013	Dr Somadoda Fikeni	Council member

2010 - 2013	Ayanda P. Wakaba	Council member
2010 - 2013	Prof. Mpilenhle P. Sithole	Council member
2010 -2013	Prof. Ciraj Rassool	Council member
2010 - 2013	Marilyn Martin	Council member
2010 - 2013	Omar Badsha	Council member
2013 - 2016	Bernedette Muthien	Council member
2013 - 2016	Ambassador Dikgang Moopeloa (Chairman)	Council member
2013 - 2016	Dawood Coovadia	Council member
2013 - 2016	Richard (Nick) Nichols	Council member
2013 - 2016	Andries (Andy) Mooke	Council member
2013 - 2016	Adv. Roshan Dehal	Council member
2013 - 2016	Themba Wakashe	Council member
2013 - 2016	Prof. Sadhasivan Perumal	Council member
2016 -	Ambassador Dikgang Moopeloa	(Chairman)

2016	Themba Wakashe (Deputy Chairman)	(Deputy Chairman)
2016	Rooksana Omar	(Ex-officio)
2016	Professor Sadhasivan Perumal	Council member
2016	Andy Mooke	Director and Entrepreneur
2016	Advocate Judith Leshabane	Council member
2016	Advocate Rod Solomons	Council member
2016	Tshimangadzo Nemaheni	Council member
2016	Sijabulile Makhathini	Council member
2010 -	Rooksana Omar appointed the Chief Executive Officer of Iziko Museums of Cape Town	Heritage practitioner
2012	On 01 July 2012, Iziko Museums of Cape is renamed to Iziko Museums of South Africa by the then Minister Paul Mashatile (see Notice 727 of 2012 dated 14 September 2012) http://www.gov.za/sites/www.gov.za/files/35667_gen727.pdf	
2014	Ambassador Dikgang Moopeloa (Chairman)	Council member
2014	Themba Wakashe	Council member
2014	Advocate Roshan Dehal	Council member

2014	Professor Sadhasivan Perumal	Council member
2014	Dawood Coovadia	Council member
2014	Richard (Nick) Nichols	Council member
2014	Bernedette Muthien	Council member
2014	Andries (Andy) Mooke	Council member
2016	Ambassador Dikgang Moopeloa (Chairman)	Council member
2016	Themba Wakashe (Deputy Chair)	Council member
2016	Professor Sadhasivan Perumal	Council member
2016	Andy Mooke	Council member
2016	Advocate Judith Leshabane	Council member
2016	Advocate Rod Solomons	Council member
2016	Tshimangadzo Nemaheni	Council member
2016	Sijabulile Makhathini	Council member
2017	Iziko Museums of South Africa in close collaboration with Commowealth Association of Museums organized a Human Remains Managemnet and Repatriation Symposium on 13	

	– 14 February 2017 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=58m7cmrxj7o	
2017	Iziko Museums of South Africa close down the Ethnographic Gallery. "Iziko Museums of South Africa (Iziko) will be closing the Ethnography Hall at the Iziko South African Museum as from 15 September 2017. The current exhibition on indigenous ways of life in southern Africa was installed in the Ethnography Hall between 1970 and 1978. It supplemented the famous Khoesan diorama, which was removed in 2001…" http://www.iziko.org.za/news/entry/re-closure-of-the-ethnography-hall-at-the-iziko-south-african-museum	
2017	On 23 September 2017, Iziko Education and Public Programmes Department organized a public discussion on "Museums and Decolonisation: what does decolonisation mean in the museological context?"	
2018	On 29 September 2018, Education and Public Programmes Department organizes a public discussion Towards a Museum Truth, Repatriation and Restitution Commission (#MuseumTRRC)	
2025	The South African Museum will mark the Bicentennial since it was formed in 1825	

Appendix F

List of body casts made James Drury under the directorship of Louis Albert *Péringuey. Taken from the Annals of the South Africa Museum*[800]

TABLE 1

Body casts made by James Drury, 1907–1924, registered with the Physical Anthropology collections of the South African Museum.

SAM NO.	SEX	GROUP	DESCRIPTION	LOCALITY
AP3391	♂	Sarwa	Boy with bow and arrow	Kanye, Botswana
AP3392	♂	Sarwa	Sitting	Gaborone, Botswana
AP3393	♂	Sarwa	Looking at spoor	Gaborone
AP3394	♂	Sarwa	Pointing to spoor	Gaborone
AP3395	♂	River Bushman	Standing	Gaborone
AP3396	♀	Sarwa	Standing, holding baby	Kanye
AP3397	♀	Sarwa	Sitting	Kanye
AP3398	♀	!Kung	Old woman standing	Nuragas
AP3399	♀	!Kung	Sitting with son	Nuragas
AP3400	♂	!Kung	Sitting with mother	Nuragas
AP3401	♂	'Bushman'	Bust only	Otjito
AP3402	♂	'Bushman'	Bust only	Otjito
AP3403	♂	Nama	Standing	Grootfontein
AP3404	♂	'Bushman'	Holding a hare	Lake Chrissie, Transvaal
AP3405	♂	'Bushman'	Lifting arms	Lake Chrissie
AP3406	♂	'Bushman'	Holding a stick	Lake Chrissie
AP3407	♂	'Bushman'	Dancing	Lake Chrissie
AP3408	♂	'Bushman'	Sitting, pounding a bone	Lake Chrissie
AP3409	♂	'Bushman'	Boy standing, arms folded	Lake Chrissie
AP3410	♀	'Bushman'	Carrying a pot	Lake Chrissie
AP3411	♀	'Bushman'	Sitting	Lake Chrissie
AP3412	♀	'Bushman'	Sitting, stirring food	Lake Chrissie
AP3413	♀	'Bushman'	Bending forward	Lake Chrissie
AP3414	♀	'Bushman'	Standing	Lake Chrissie
AP3415	♂	Damara/Topnaar	Standing, with stick	Possession Is.
AP3416	♂	'Hottentot'	Half-reclining	Possession Is.
AP3417	♀	'Hottentot'	Standing, right arm raised	Possession Is.
AP3878	♀	Topnaar	Sitting	Possession Is.
AP3879	♀	/Xam	Walking, stick over shoulder	Prieska, Cape
AP3880	♂	/Xam	Bow in hand	Prieska
AP3881	♂	/Xam	Drawing bow	Prieska
AP3882	♂	/Xam	Sitting cross-legged	Prieska
AP3883	♀	/Xam	With digging-stick	Carnavon
AP3884	♀	/Xam	Sitting, digging	Prieska
AP3885	♀	/Xam	Standing with hands on hips	Prieska
AP3886	♀	/Xam	Standing, resting on stick	Prieska
AP3887	♀	/Xam	Pounding snuff	Prieska
AP3888	♂	/Xam	Bending forward	Prieska
AP3889	♂	/Xam	Squatting as if using fire-sticks	Prieska
AP3890	♂	/Xam	Standing, arm out-stretched	Prieska
AP3891	♂	/Xam	Crouching	Carnarvon
AP3892	♂		Crouching, arm out-stretched	Carnarvon
AP3893	♂	Nama	Boy sitting	Vosburg
AP3894	♂	/Xam	Boy playing musical instrument (gorah)	Upington (cast at Tokai reformatory)
AP3895	♀	/Xam	Reclining	Prieska
AP3896	♀	/Xam mother, Cape coloured father	Standing, right arm on hip	Victoria West
AP3897	♀	'Hottentot' mother, Xhosa father	Standing, arms extended	Britstown (cast in House of Correction, Cape Town)
AP3898	♀	? Hottentot or Bushman mother, Hottentot father	Standing	Britstown (cast in House of Correction, Cape Town)
AP3899	♂	Korana	Standing	Cast at Kimberley prison
AP3900	♂	Kgalagadi	Sitting, one knee raised	Kanye
AP3901	♀	Kgalagadi	Standing, carrying pot on head	Kanye
AP3902	♀	Kgalagadi	Kneeling, using pestle and mortar	Kanye
AP3903	♂	'Makua'	Standing, body cicatrized	Cast in Johannesburg
AP3904	♀	'Hottentot'	Head only	Bethany (cast in Windhoek prison)
AP3905	♂	Nama	Standing	Windhoek prison
AP3906	♂	Bondelswart	Head only	Bethany (cast in Windhoek prison)
AP3907	♂	Korana	Standing	De Beers Compound, Kimberley
AP3908	♂	Cape Hottentot	Boy standing, arm outstretched	De Beers Compound, Kimberley
AP3909	♂	Griqua	Standing as if in trance	De Beers Compound, Kimberley
AP3910	♂	Topnaar	Standing	Walvis Bay
AP3911	♂	Kgalagadi	Sitting, with outstretched legs	Gaborone prison
AP3912	♀	/Xam	Sitting on rock	Carnarvon
AP3913	♀	Auen	Sitting as if making ostrich egg-shell beads	Sandfontein
AP3914	♀	Auen	Sitting as if drilling bore in beads	Sandfontein
AP3915	♀	Naron	Standing, clapping	Sandfontein
AP3916	♀	Naron	Dancing	Sandfontein
AP4608	♀	Heikom	Standing, clapping	Grootfontein
AP4609	♂	Auen	Sitting as if making string	Sandfontein
AP4610	♂	? Bush	Walking	De Beers Compound, Kimberley

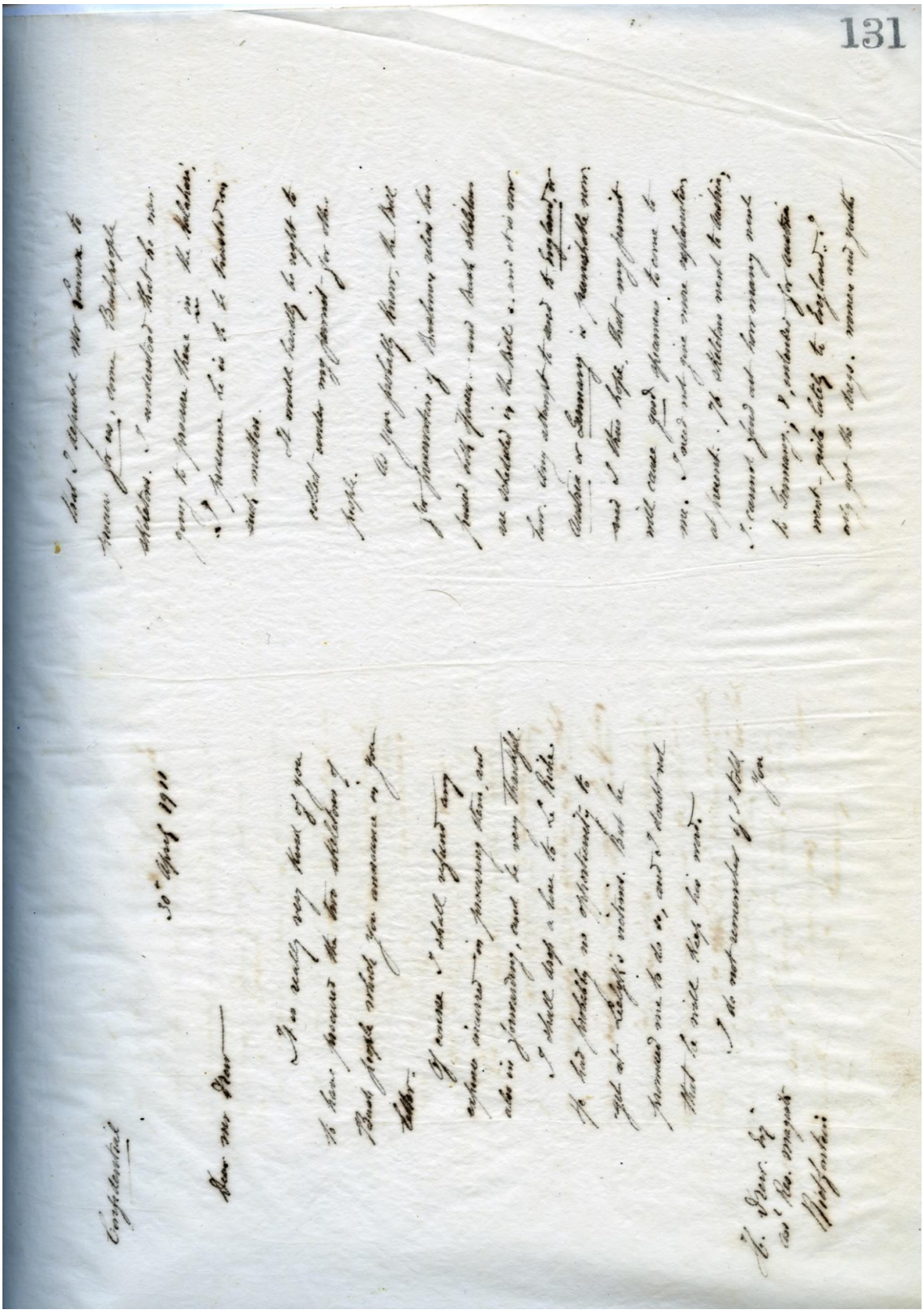
ANNALS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN MUSEUM

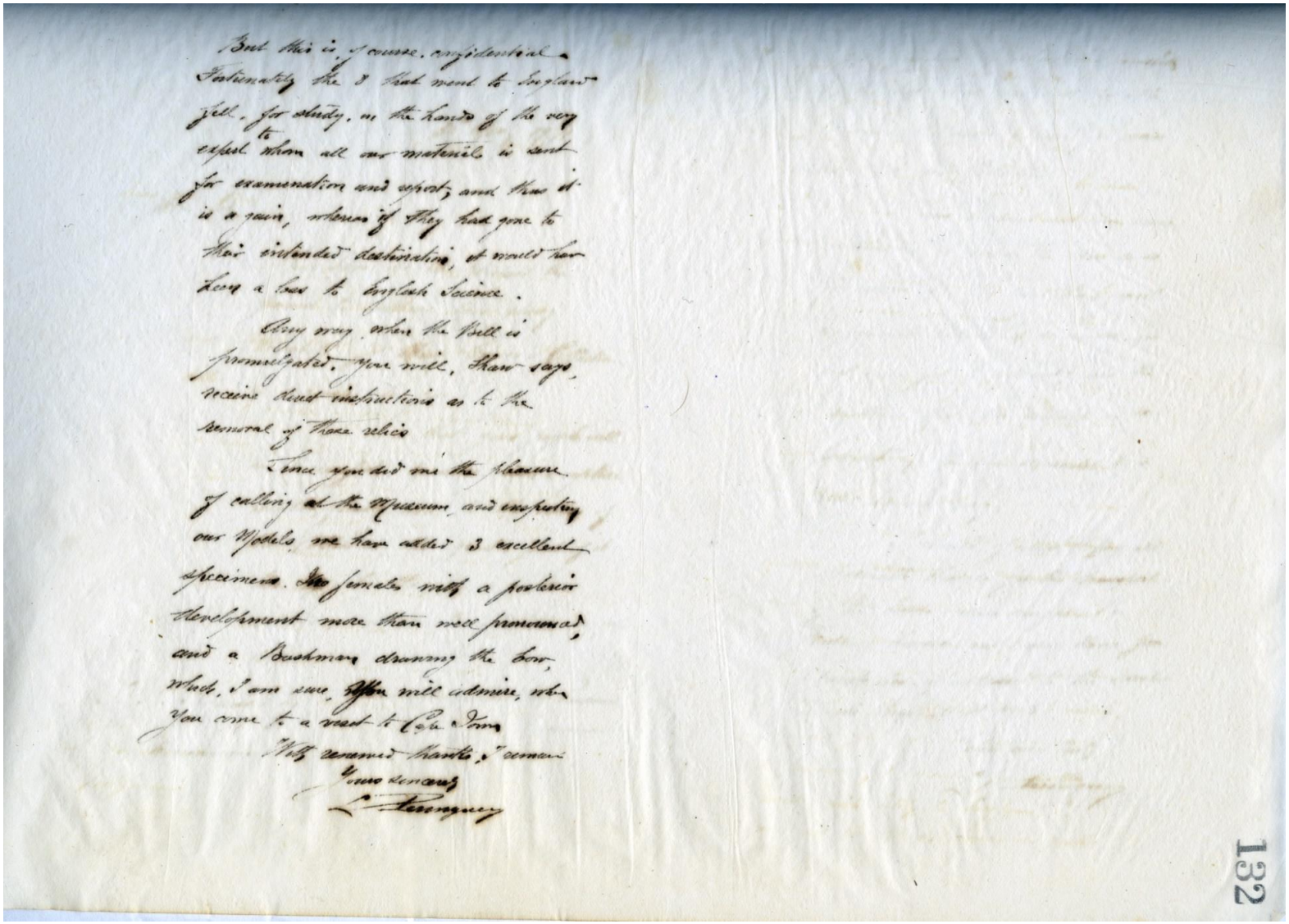
HUMAN SUBJECTS AS MUSEUM OBJECTS

[800] Patricia Davison, Annals of the South African Museum (Cape Town: The South African Museum, 1993)

APPENDICES G

Louis Péringuey letter to Harry Drew, Assistant Resident Magistrate, Rietfontein, 30 April 1911





But this is, of course, confidential.
Fortunately the S had meant to England
fell, for study, in the hands of the very
to
expert whom all our materials is sent
for examination and report; and thus it
is a gain, whereas if they had gone to
their intended destination, it would have
been a loss to English Science.

Pray may, when the Bell is
promulgated, you will, then say,
receive Court instructions as to the
removal of those relics

Since you did me the pleasure
of calling at the Museum, and inspecting
our Models, we have added 3 excellent
specimens. The female with a perfect
development more than most pronounced,
and a Bushman drawing the bow,
which, I am sure, you will admire, when
you come to a meet to Cox Inn

With renewed thanks, I remain

Yours truly

C Darwin

APPENDICES G *(transcribed by Robyn-Leigh Cedras)*

[Page 1/3]

Confidential *30 April 1911*

H. Drew Esq. Ass' Reg. Magistrate, Rietfontein

Dear Mr Drew

It is really very kind of you to procure the two skeletons of Bush people which you announce in your letter.

Of course I shall refund any expense incurred procuring them and also in forwarding, and be very thankful.

I shall drop a line to Le Roche. He had probably no opportunity to get at Lieflik's victims. But he promised me to do so, and I doubt not that he will keep his word.

I do not remember if I told you

[Page 2/3]

that I deputed Mr Lennox to procure for us some Bushpeople skeletons. I understand that he was going to procure these in the Kalahari, I presume he is to be trusted in such matters.

It would hardly be right to collect under my permit for other people.

As you probably know the Bill for preservation of Bushman relics has passed both … and Bush skeletons are scheduled in the Bill and it is our law. Any attempt to send to <u>England</u>, or <u>Austria</u> or <u>Germany</u> is punishable now. And I thus hope, that my permit will cause <u>good</u> specimens to come to me. I need not give more explanation at present. If skeletons went to Austria, I cannot find out how many went to Germany, [and] 8 intended for Austria went – quite lately to England. I only got the dregs, women and youths.

[Page 3/3]

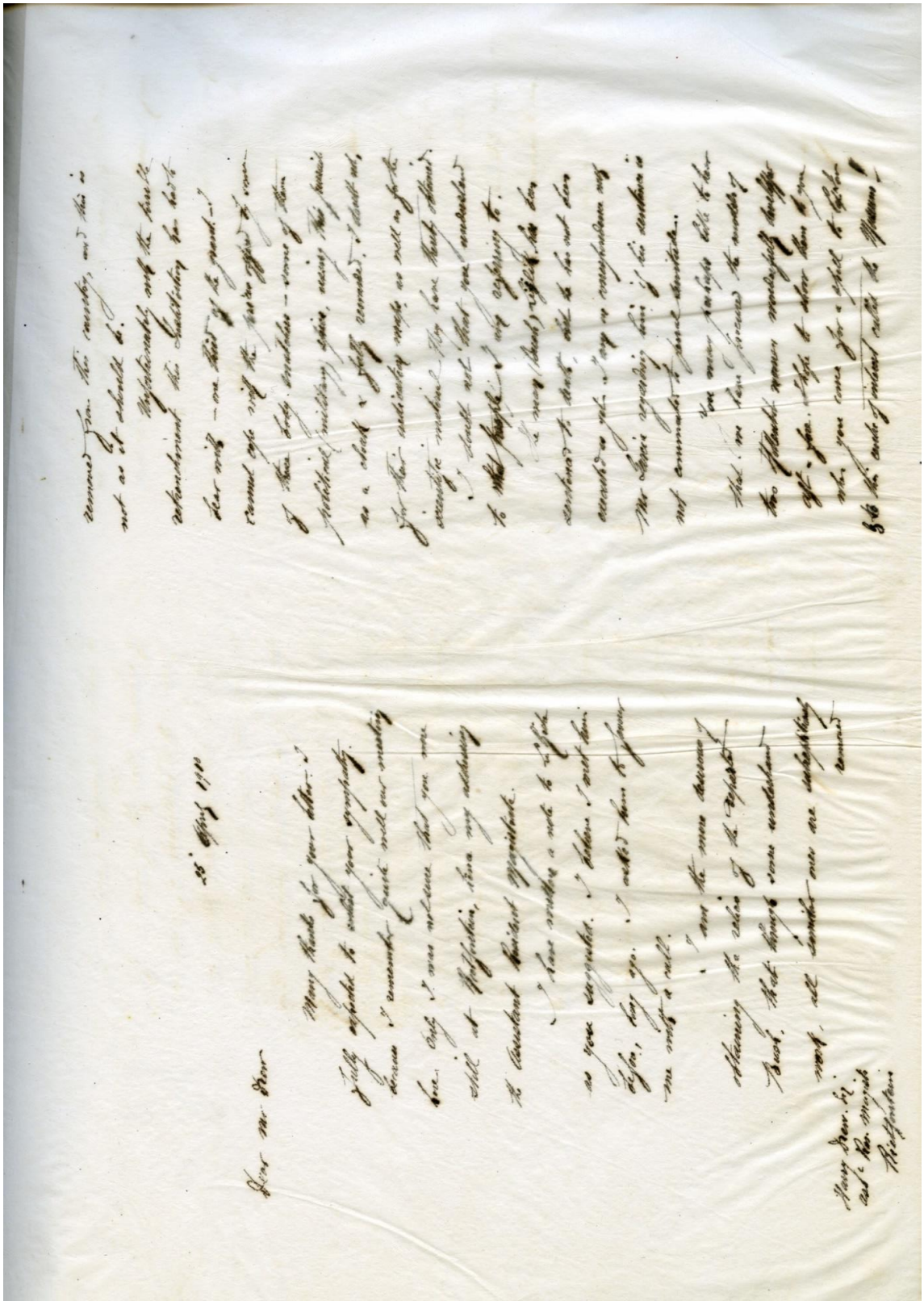
But this is of course confidential. Fortunately the 8 that went to England fell, for study, in the hands of the very expert to whom all our material is sent for examination and report, and thus it is a gain, whereas if they had gone to their intended destinations, it would have been a loss to English Science.

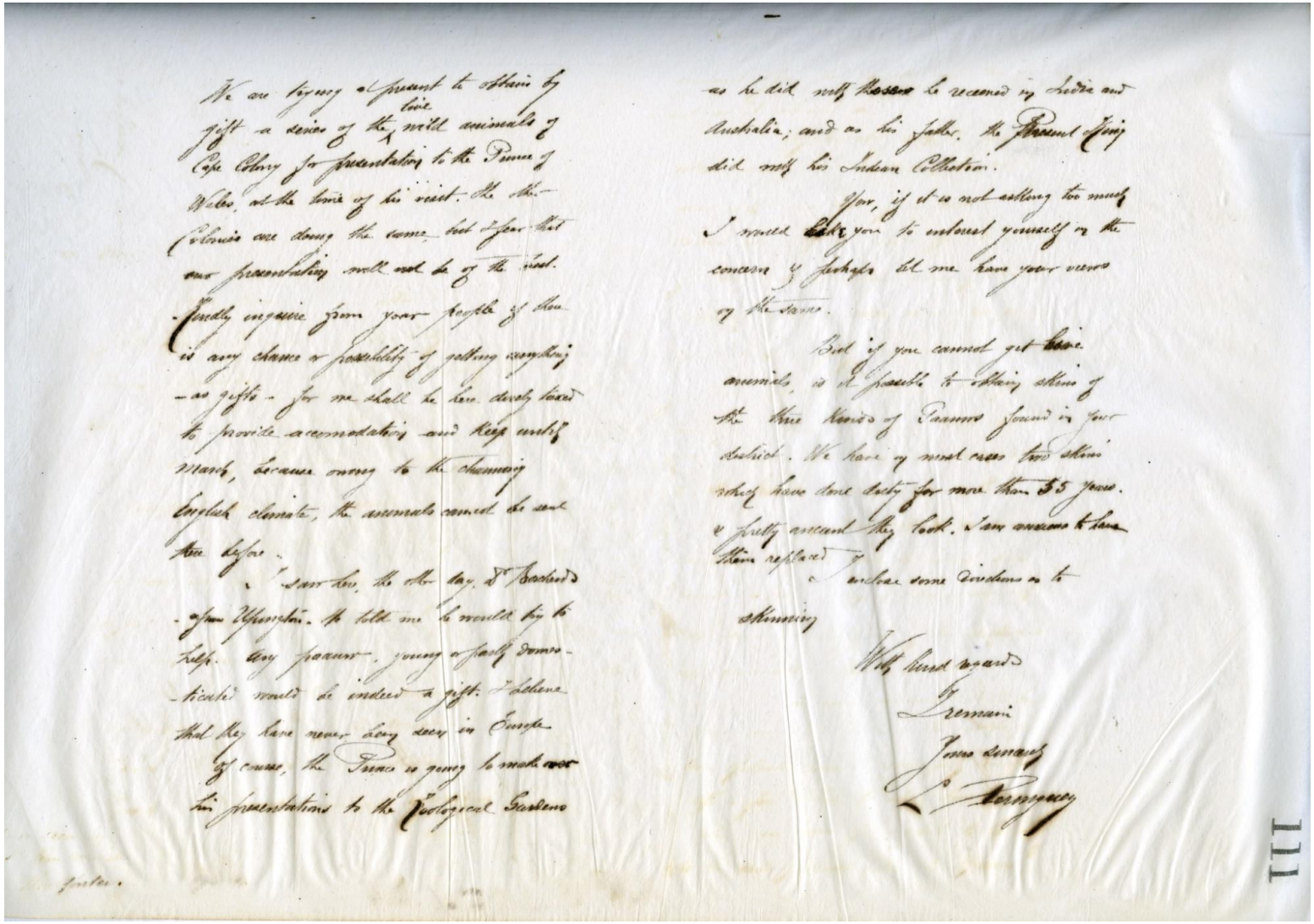
Any way, when the Bill is promulgated, you will, Shaw says, receive clearer instructions as to the removal of these relics.
Since you did me the pleasure of calling at the museum and inspecting our models, we have added three excellent specimens. The females with a posterior developed more than well pronounced and a Bushman drawing the bow which, I am sure, you will admire when you come to visit to Cape Town.
With … thanks… Yours sincerely L Péringuey

[Louis Péringuey to Harry Drew, 30 April 1911, Assistant Resident Magistrate, Rietfontein, transcribed from letter numbered 131 and 132, Iziko Social History Centre Archive, Iziko Museums of South Africa]

APPENDIX H

Louis Péringuey letter to Harry Drew, Assistant Resident Magistrate, Rietfontein, 25 April 1910





We are trying at present to obtain by
live
gift a series of the wild animals of
Cape Colony for presentation to the Prince of
Wales, at the time of his visit. As the
Colonists are doing the same, but I fear that
our proceedings will not be of the best.
Kindly inquire from your people if there
is any chance or possibility of getting anything
as gifts - for we shall be very much obliged
to provide accomodation and keep until
March, because owing to the shortening
English climate, the animals cannot be sent
here before.

I saw Lee, the other day, & Bachard
from Wynberg. He told me to remind you to
help. Any pheasants, young or partly domes-
ticated would be indeed a gift. I believe
that they have never been seen in Europe
Of course, the Prince is going to make over
his presentations to the Zoological Gardens
as he did with those he received in India and
Australia; and as his father, the present King
did with his Indian Collection.

Now, if it is not asking too much
I would like you to interest yourself in the
concern & perhaps tell me how your views
of the same.

But if you cannot get live
animals, is it possible to obtain skins of
the three kinds of Pheasants found in your
district. We have in mind some two skins
which have done duty for more than 35 years.
& pretty ancient they look. I am anxious to have
them replaced. I enclose some circulars as to
shipping

With kind regards
Yours sincerely
Jno Kirkpatrick

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APPENDICES H *(transcribed transcribed by Robyn-Leigh Cedras)*

[Page 1/4]

25 April 1910
Harry Drew Esq. Ass' Reg. Magistrate, Rietfontein

Dear Mr Drew

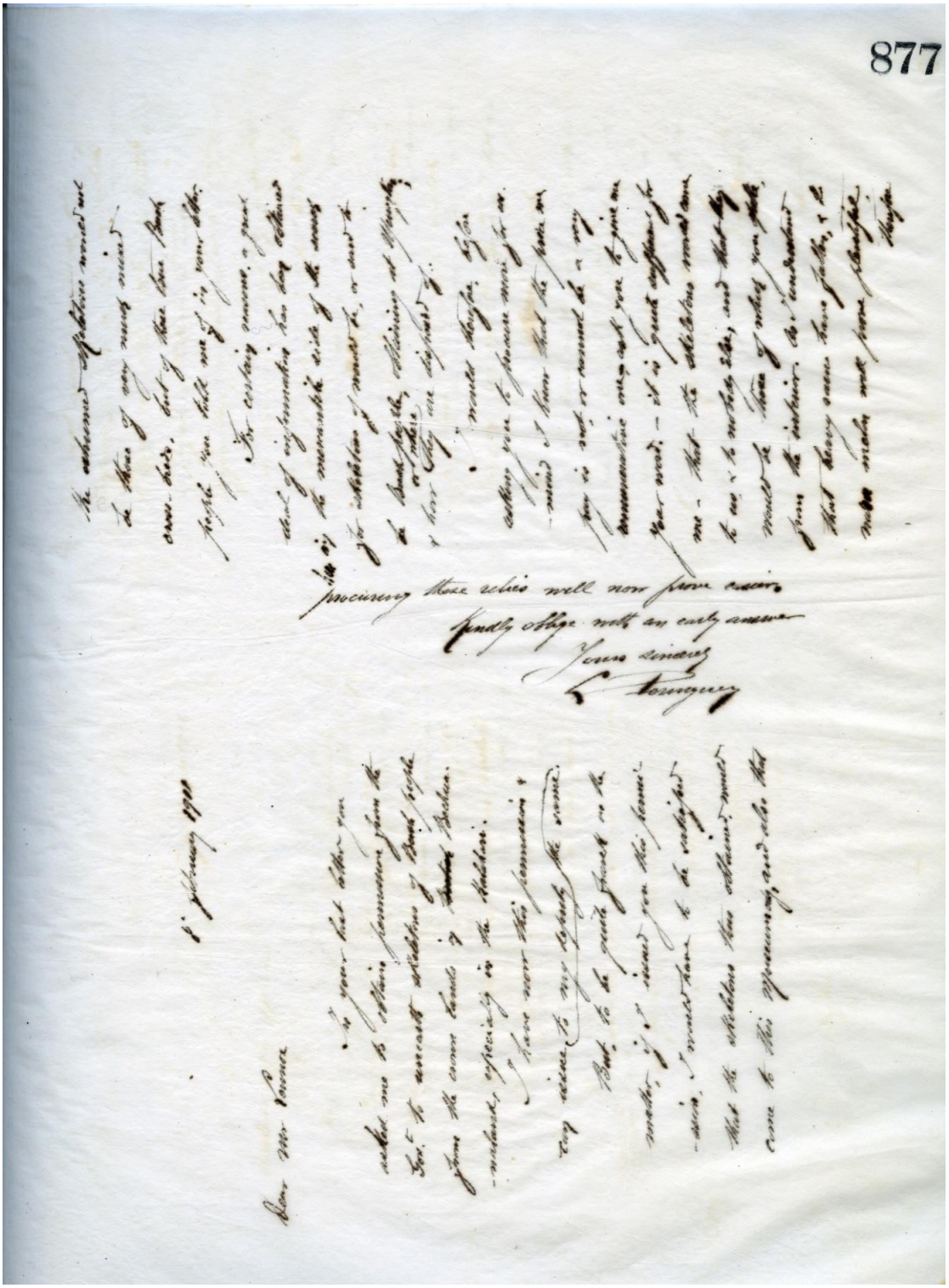
Many thanks for your letter. I fully expected to enlist your sympathy because I remember quite well our meeting here, only I was not sure that you were still at Rietfontein, hence my addressing the Assistant Resident Magistrate.
I have written a note to Le Roche as you suggested. I believe I met him before long ago. I asked him to favour me with a call.
I am the more desirous of obtaining the relics of the departed Bush, that through some underhand work, all similar ones are surreptitiously removed
[Page 2/4]
removed from this country, and this is not as it should be.
Unfortunately with the … retrenchment this … has had to bear with – one third of the grant. I cannot cope with price offered by some of these body snatches – some of them political (military) spies, using their position as a cloak [and] fully … I doubt not, for their indication …, as well as for the scientific material they have though obtained. I doubt not that you understand to what people I am referring to.
The man (Bush) Lieflik has been sentenced to death, but he has not been executed as yet. I am in correspondence with Mr. Garcia regarding him if his sentence is not commuted to penal servitude.
You may perhaps like to hear that we have procured the models of two Hottentot women wonderfully developed aft [and] fore. I hope to show these to you when you come back for a spell to Cape Town [and] to this … of interest called the Museum!
[Page 3/4]
We are trying at present to obtain by gift a series of live wild animals of [the] Cape Colony for presentation to the Prince of Wales, at the time of his visit. The other Colonies are doing the same, but I fear that our presentation will not be the best. Kindly inquire from your people if there is any chance or possibility of getting anything – as gifts – for we shall be here clearly taxed to provide accommodation and keep until

March, because owing to the charming English climate, the animals cannot be sent there before.
I saw here, the other day, Dr Borcherds – from Upington. He told me he would try to help. Any … young or fully domesticated would be indeed a gift. I believe that they have never been seen in Europe of course, the Prince is going to make his presentations to the Zoological Gardens
[Page 4/4]
as he did with those he received in India and Australia; and as his father, the Present King did with his Indian collection.
Now, if it is not asking too much I would like you to involve yourself in the concern and perhaps let me have you news on the same.
But if you cannot get some animals is it possible to obtain skins of three kinds of … found in your district. We have in … two skins which have done duty for more than 5 years and pretty ancient they look. I am … to have them replaced.
With kind regards I remain yours sincerely L. Péringuey Director

[Louis Péringuey to Harry Drew, 25 April 1910, Assistant Resident Magistrate, Rietfontein, transcribed from letter numbered 110 and 111, Iziko Social History Centre Archive, Iziko Museums of South Africa]

APPENDIX I

Manuscript of the Louis *Péringuey letter to St George Leger Lennox, 8 February 1911*



APPENDIX I *(transcribed by Robyn-Leigh Cedras)*

[Page 1/2]

8 February 1911

Dear Mr Lennox

To your last letter you asked me to obtain permission from the Govt. to unearth skeletons of Bush people from the crown lands of Bechuanaland, especially in the Kalahari.

I have now this permission and can issue the same to my deputy. But to be quite frank on the matter if I issue you this permission, I would have to be satisfied that the skeletons thus obtained would come to this museum only and also that

[Page 2/2]

the exhumed skeletons would not be those of very much mixed cross breed, but of those true Bush people you told me of in your letter.

For certain reasons a great deal of information has been obtained here on the mercantile side of the search for skeletons of would be, or said to be Bush people obtaining at Upington and how or where they are disposed of. I would therefore, before asking you to procure more for me. –mind I know that the price we pay is not or cannot be a very remunerative one and ask you to give me your word. – it is quite sufficient for me- that the skeletons would come to us and to nobody else and that they would be those of which you spoke, from the interior. As I understand that heavy rains have fallen and the … will prove plentiful therefore

[Written in passage between text]

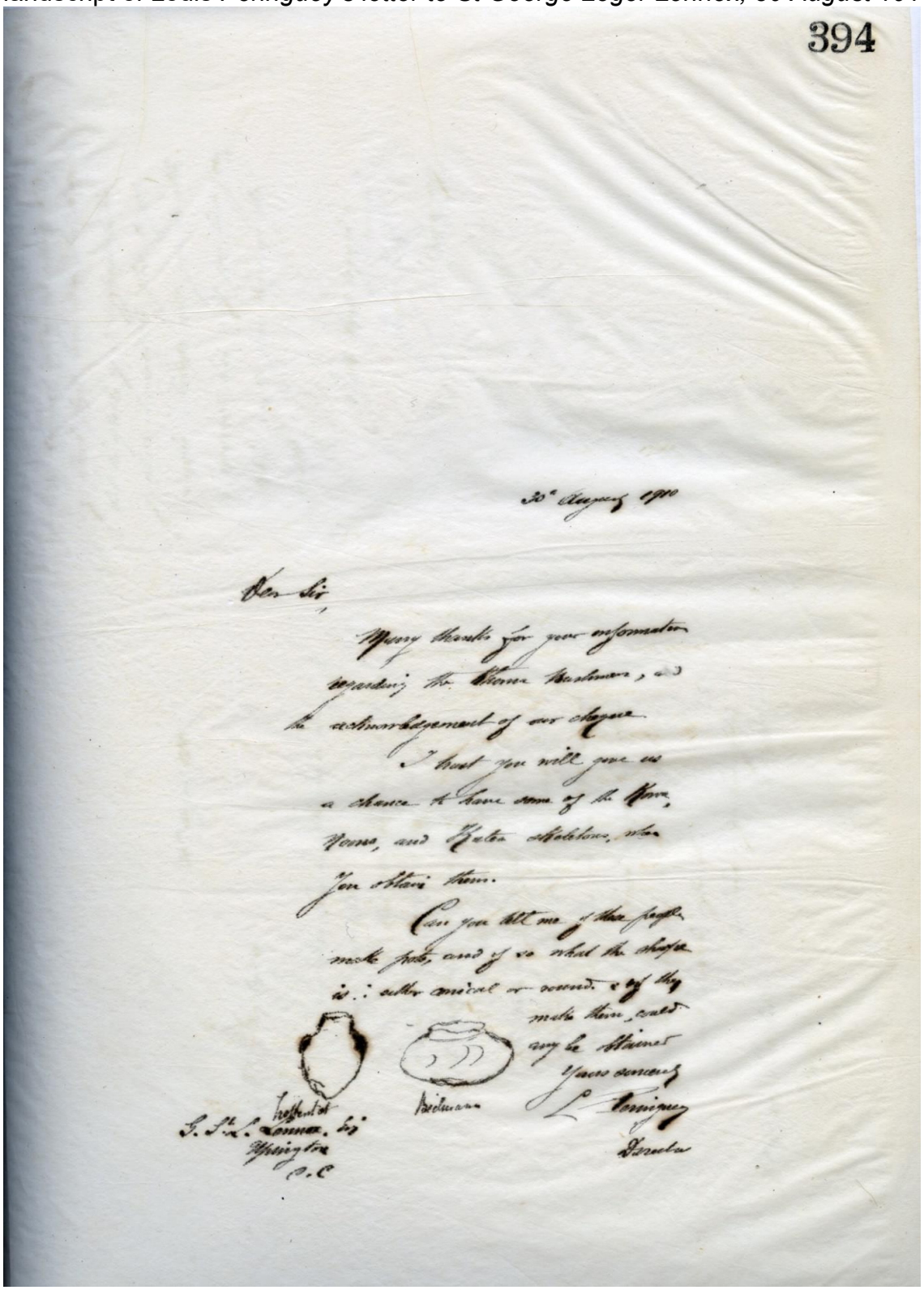
procuring these relics will now prove easier. Kindly oblige with an early answer.

Yours sincerely, L Péringuey

[Louis Péringuey to George St. Leger Lennox, 8 February 1911, Upington, transcribed from letter number 877, Iziko Social History Centre Archive, Iziko Museums of South Africa]

Appendix J

Manuscript of Louis *Péringuey's letter to St George Leger Lennox, 30 August 1910*



APPENDIX J *(transcribed transcribed by Robyn-Leigh Cedras)*

Louis *Péringuey letter to St George Leger Lennox, 30 August 1910, Upington*

30 August 1910
G.S. LennoxEsq., Upington C.C.

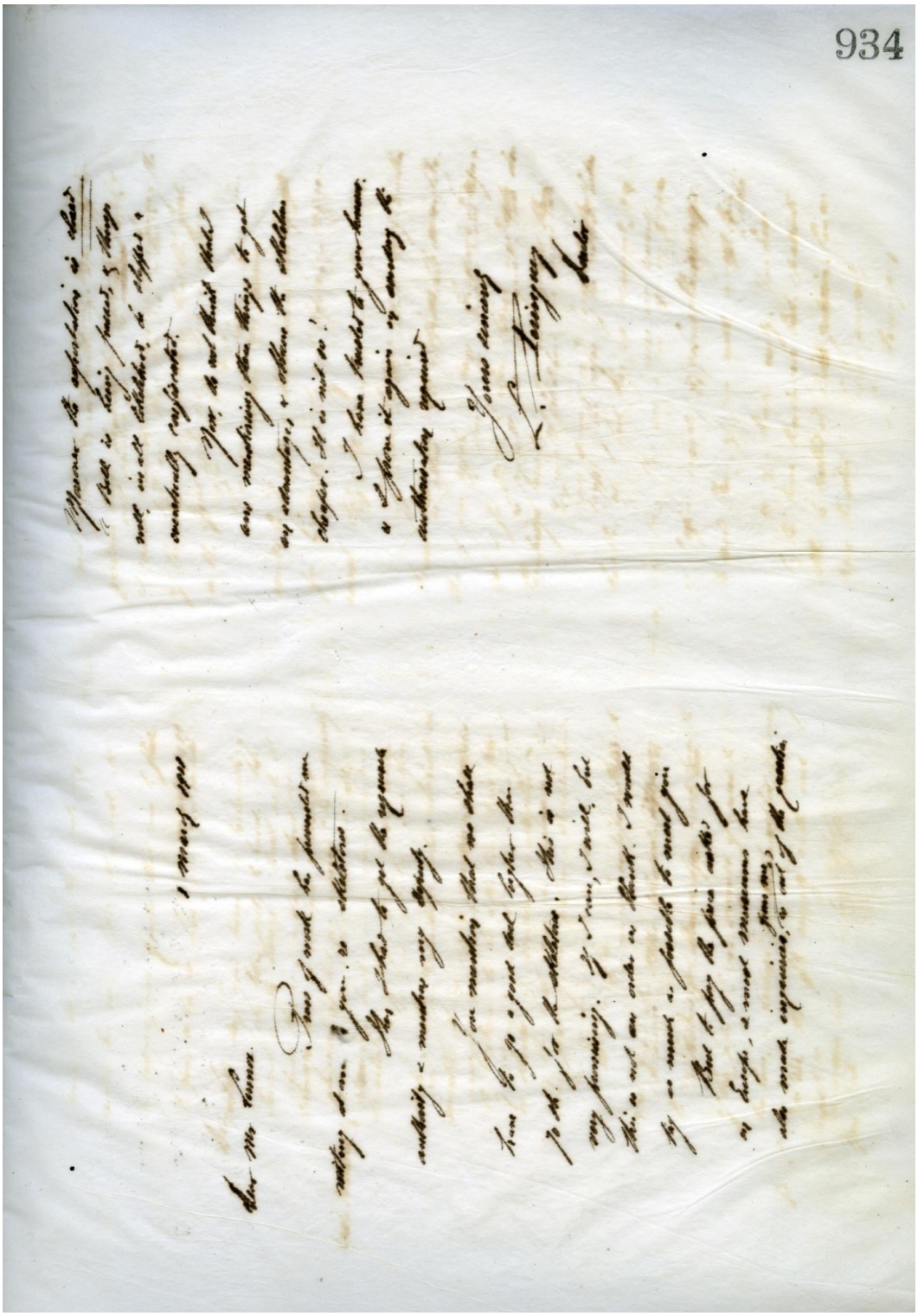
Dear Sir,

Many thanks for your information regarding the Korana Bushman, and the acknowledgement of our cheque.
I trust that you will give us a chance to have some of the…Nama, and …skeletons when you obtain them.
Can you tell me if these people make pots and if so what the shape is…conical or roundand if they make these could any be obtained.
Yours sincerelt L. *Péringuey Director"*[801]

[801] Louis *Péringuey's letter to St George Leger Lennox, 30 August 191, Upington. This letter is transcribed by Robyn-Leigh Cedras from letter number 39, Iziko Social History Centre Archive, Iziko Museums of South Africa*

Appendix K

Manuscript of the Louis *Péringuey letter to St George Leger Lennox, 1 March 1911*



APPENDIX K *(transcribed transcribed by Robyn-Leigh Cedras)*

[Page 1/2]

1 March 1911

Dear Mr Lennox

Press of work has provided me writing at once to you re skeletons.
Then, I had to get the requested authority and mention my deputy.
You mention that we shall have to go a good deal higher than … for the skeletons. This is not very promising. If I can, I will, but this is not an order in … I would try as much as possible to meet you. But to pay the price called for in Europe, and most museums have also made inquiries from me, is out of the question.
[Page 2/2]
Moreover the exportation is closed. A Bill is being passed and things will, in all likelihood, be stopped and eventually confiscated.
Now, do not think that I am mentioning these things to get an advantage and obtain the skeletons cheaper. It is not so!
I have trusted to your honour and I prove it again in sending the authorization required.
Yours sincerely L. Péringuey Director

[Louis Péringuey to George St. Leger Lennox, 1 March 1911, Upington, transcribed from letter number 934, Iziko Social History Centre Archive, Iziko Museums of South Africa]

APPENDIX L

Manuscript of the Louis *Péringuey letter to St George Leger Lennox, 15 August 1910*

366

APPENDIX L *(transcribed transcribed by Robyn-Leigh Cedras)*

[Page 1/2]

15 August 1910

G. S. L. Lennox Eq., Upington C. C.

Dear Mr Lennox

I have received your skeletons two days ago. I have not gone through these, but I take it for granted that you have seen that they are complete.

I am sending herewith a cheque on the Standard Banks for £. *17.10. at* £. 3.10. a specimen. Which is the most we can afford to give. The boy will not be very useful for measurements as adults are required, but of course this makes no difference. I am glad and thankful that you have given us the opportunity to add

[Page 2/2]

Add these examples to the collection. They go tomorrow to Leiden with the other skulls to be carefully measured there.

I would be glad indeed if you could tell me a little more about the skeletons. Are they those of Basarwa or mixed Hottentot Bush, or of what is called here (Colonial) Bush.

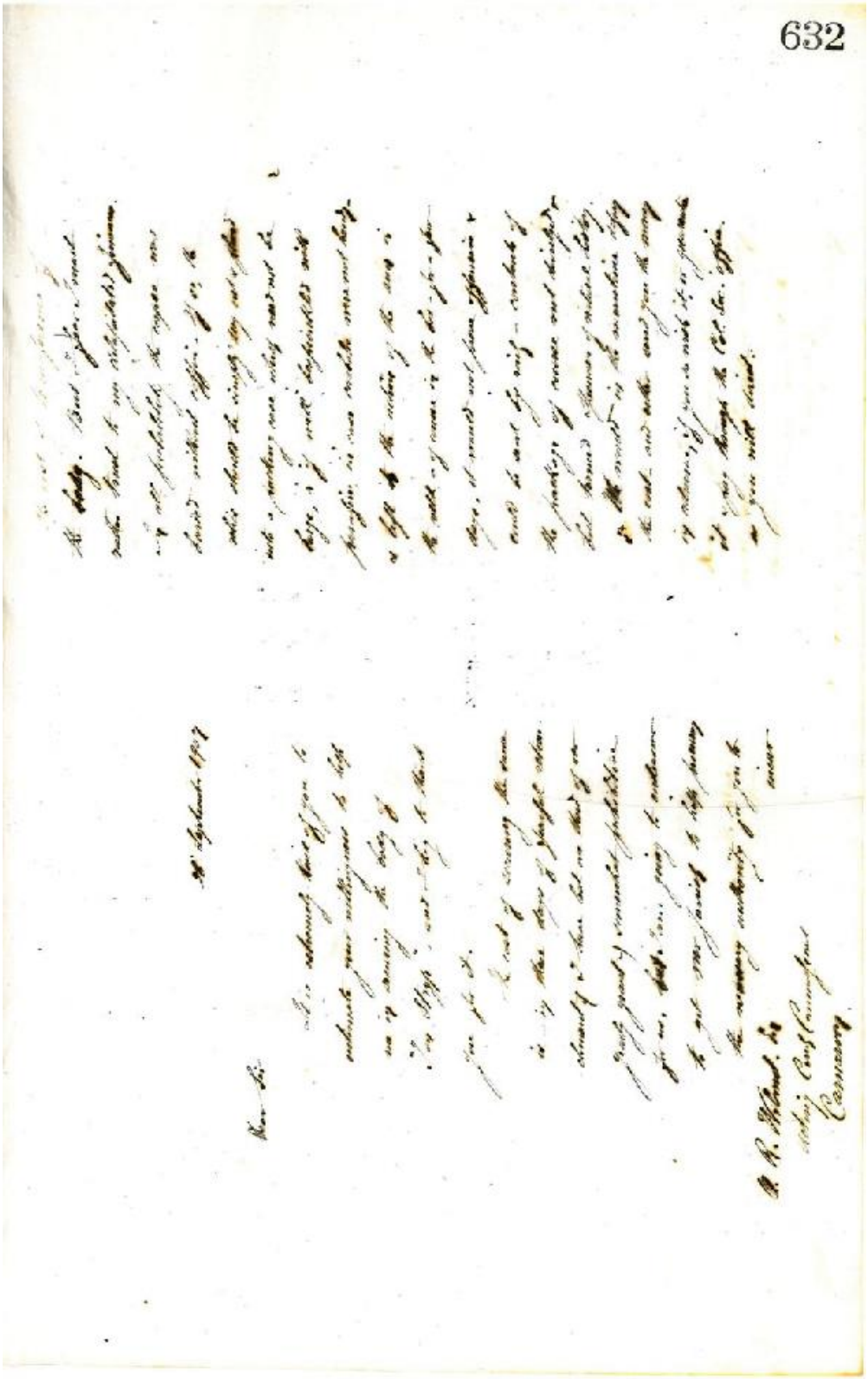
Then also, how were they buried? Laying on the side or in the sitting attitude? But they were I presume with tucked up legs towards the chins, etc. Are the bodies wrapped in [sac] or lambs cloth? Any information relating to their burials would be greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely L. Péringuey Director

[Louis Péringuey to George St. Leger Lennox, 15 August 1910, Upington, transcribed from letter number 366, Iziko Social History Centre Archive, Iziko Museums of South Africa]

APPENDIX M

Louis Péringuey to AR Wilmot, 28 September 1909,



APPENDICES M *(transcribed transcribed by Robyn-Leigh Cedras)*

[Page 1/3]

28 September 1909

A. *R. Wilmot Esq*

Dear Sir

It is extremely kind of you to intimate your willingness to help us in securing the body of Jan Stryp, and I beg to thank you for it.

The cost of securing the same is – in these days of fearful… I have not one third of our yearly grant, somewhat prohibitive for us, but I am going to endeavour to get Mr Janiek to help providing the necessary authority for you to incur

[Page 2/3]

… of the body. But I fear I must rather trust to my dilapidated …

In all probability the corpse was buried without coffin. If so, the relics should be simply dug out and fitted into a packing case which need not be large, and if well besprinkled with paraffin in case … were not handy and left to the action of the sun in the veld – of course in a box for a few days, it would not prove offensive and could be sent by rail – contents of the package of course not divulged but termed specimen of natural history.

We would in the meantime … the cost and either send you the money in advance, if you so wish it or … it and pay through the Col. Sec. Office as you will …

[Page 3/3]

I take the liberty to send you some directions I have regarding graves of Bushman … and … to return with those. Could you also help in the matter?

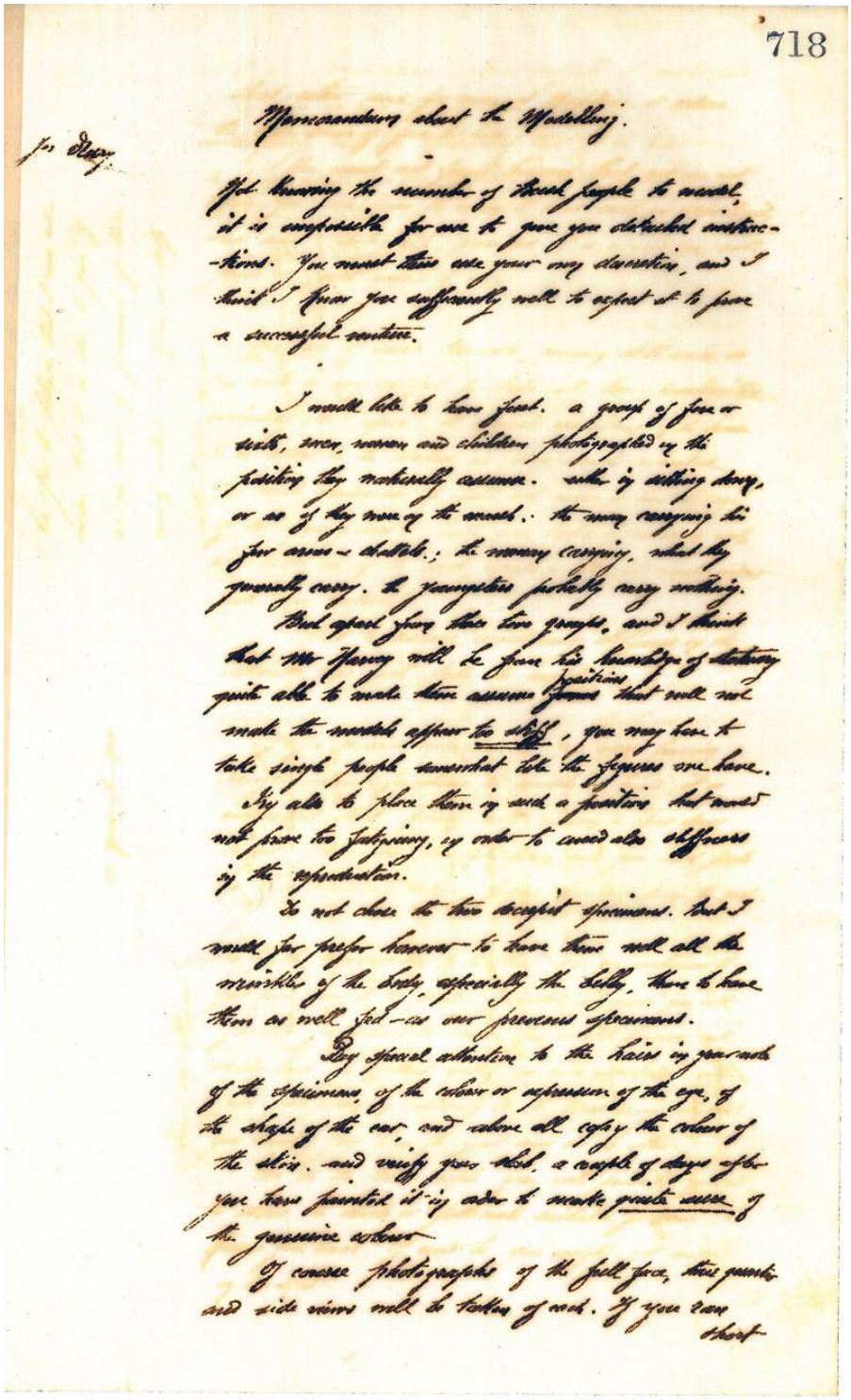
[Last paragraph indecipherable]

I remain yours very sincerely L. Péringuey Director

[Louis Péringuey to AR Wilmot, 28 September 1909, transcribed from letters numbered 632 and 633, Iziko Social History Centre Archive, Iziko Museums of South Africa.]

APPENDIX N

Manuscript of the Louis Péringuey letter “Memorandum about the Modeling” to James Drury, November 1908



718

Memorandum about the Modelling.

Jas Drury

Not knowing the number of Black people to model, it is impossible for me to give you detailed instructions. You must then use your own discretion, and I think I know you sufficiently well to expect to have a successful venture.

I would like to have first a group of four or five, men, women and children photographed in the position they naturally assume. Some in sitting down, or as if they were at the meals: the men carrying their own — shields; the women carrying what they generally carry. The youngsters perhaps carrying nothing.

But apart from these two groups, and I think that Mr Drury will be from his knowledge of natives quite able to make them assume positions that will not make the models appear too stiff, you may have to take single people somewhat like the figures we have.

Try also to place them in such a position that would not favor too fatiguing, in order to avoid also stiffness in the reproduction.

Do not chose the two accepted specimens. But I would far prefer however to have them with all the wrinkles of the body, especially the belly, than to have them as well fed — as our previous specimens.

Pay special attention to the hairs in your models of the specimens, of the colour or appearance of the eye, of the shape of the ear, and above all copy the colour of the skin. and verify your chart. a couple of days after you have painted it in order to make quite sure of the permanence of colour.

Of course photographs of the full face, three quarter and side views will be better of use. If you can shoot

that either must for more of spelling. or reduce the three views of four to two.

You must not forget however that we are not likely for some time to come to have such an opportunity over any photograph, provided it is a good one will prove of great value to us.

You are of course desirous, money shall cause no. You will be very careful to take all their peculiarities including the "spur". A special recording of the same to be added to the skeleton is very much wanted. You will endeavour to find out more or less the age of the young ones. Could you take a measure with her tail as by the bird, wings & all, it would make look very natural.

But to measure avoid any difficulty of the attitude you will take the models in.

If for reasons unavoidable you were leaving Kenya without finishing the models in hand, it is understood that Harvey will remain a few days longer. You would then take down with you such parts as have already been taken. Harvey bringing down the rest.

As to the remuneration to the Chief, you are authorised to give him from 5 to 10 £ provided he gives you all facilities for taking the casts. You would however not make him the present until you have ascertained either from Harvey in authority or the Missionary whether you should give him the first sum or the other.

As to the Bush people you will probably get all the stores the chiefs or fathers can possibly for them. Use influence you have. If need be you might get more of the Govt.

as to the Zeyphyphone. Read carefully the instructions
If you have no time to attend to that part of the
embodiding, ask the Missionary this to be read amongst
to do do. which you can procure with the embodiding. If
need be I could send some Cylinders.

Endeavour to keep the Governor of these
Bush people by any able to divide the superintendence with
if you can, provided these Governors or some one not
Commander or Commissioner yourself.

If any medical aid other than Bark may present
you may keep if not clear.

You will let me know of your arrival and
how you are getting on. It may be that I take a
run up that way, but I am afraid that finances
will not permit.

I should not like you to lose some useful
opportunities for the sake of a few shillings, but I
am compelled to recommend a careful handling of
the Gift funds you take to cover expenses.

I am enclosing all correspondence with the Resident
Commissioner's Office. In case of need you would apply to him.

L. Livingstone
Esquire

Try to get the point of the identity of these Bush people
they should belong to 5 tribes, the Bakuti; Barwa,
Bashova, Batoka, & Bekhabelwa. It may be that the names
under which they are known: Mashawa and Bekhabelwabeli are
not their true names. - Show this to the Missionary, if he shows
some interest, which I hope, by the creation

APPENDIX N *(transcribed transcribed by Robyn-Leigh Cedras)*

Louis Péringuey to James Drury, November 1908

"[Page 1/3]

For Drury – Memorandum about the Modelling

Not knowing the reminder of Bush people…it is possible for me to give you detailed instructions. You must then use your own discretion and I think I know you sufficiently well to expect it to prove a successful venture.

I woud like to have first a group of five or six, men, woman and children photographed in the position they naturally assume, either in sitting down or as if they were on the march: the man carrying his few arms and chattels; the women carrying what they generally carry, the youngsters probably carrying nothing.

But apart from these two groups, and I think that Mr. Harvey will be from his knowledge of statuary quite able to make them assume positions that will not make the models appear too stiff, you may have to take single people somewhat like the figures we do have. Try also to place them in such a position that would not prove too fatiguing, in order to avoind stiffness in the reproduction.

Do not chose [sic] the too decrepit specimens. But I would far prefer however to have those with all the wrinkles of the body, especially the belly, than to have them as well fed as our previous specimens.

Pay special attention to the hairs in your note of the specimens, of the colour or expression of the eye, of the shape of the ear, and above all copy the colour of the skin, and verify your slap a couple of days after you have painted it in order to make quite sure of the genuine colour.

Of course photographs of the full face, the quarter and side views will be taken of each. If you run short

[Page 2/3]

either send for more at Mafikeng, or reduce the three views of the face to two.

Yoo must not forget however that we are not likely for sometime to have such an opportunity and any photograph, provided it is good one will prove of great value to us.

Men are ofcourse desirable, women still more so. You will be very careful to take all their peculiarities, including the “apron”. A special moulding of the same to be added to the statue is very much wanted. You will endeavour to find out more or less the ages of the young ones. Could you take a woman with her little one on her back, wraps and all, it would indeed look very natural.

But to resume avoid any stiffness in attitude you will take the models in.

If for reason unavoidable you were leaving Kanye without finishing the models in hand, it is understood that Harvey will remain a few days longer. You would then take down with you such parts as have already been take, Harvey bringing down the rest.

As to the remuneration of the Chief you are authorized to give him 5 to 10 pounds provided he gives you all facility for taking the casts. You would however not make him the present as you have ascertained from some person in authority or the Missionary whether you should give him the full some or the other.

As to the Bush people you will probably get at the stores the shirts and petticoats suitable for them. The knives you have. If need be you might get more on the spot.

[Page3/3]

As to the Graphophone. Read carefully the instructions. If you have no time to attend to that part of the undertaking, ask the Missionary there to be kind enough to do so, while you are preceeding with the modelling. If need be I could send more cylinders.

Endeavour to buy the garments of the Bush people in order to clothe the reproductions with if you can, provided that their garments or arms are not Manchester or [?Birmingham] goods.

If any native curio other that Bush was procurable you may buy if not dear.

You will let me know of your arrival and how you are getting on. It may be that I take a run up that way, but I'm afraid that finances will not permit.

I should not like you to lose some useful opportunities for the sake of a few shillings, but I am compelled to recommend a careful handling of the fifty pounds you take to cover expenses.

I am enclosing all correspondence with the Resident Commissioners office. In case of need you should apply to him.

L. Péringuey Director

Try to get the…of the identity of these Bush people. They should belong to five tribes, the Bakuti, Basara, Bakora, Batophe and Bakadikwa. It may be that the names underwhich they are known: Masarwa and Bakhalahadi are not their true name – Show this to the Missionary, if he shows interest, which I hope in the matter.

[Louis Péringuey to James Drury, November 1908, letter at numbers 718-720, Iziko Social History Centre Archive, Iziko Museums of South Africa]"[802]

[802] Robyn-Leigh Cedras, 'The Halls of History: The Making and Unmaking of the Life-casts at the Ethnography Galleries of the Iziko South African Museum' (Unpublished M Phil thesis, University of Cape Town), pp.180-181.

Appendix O

A Email correspondence sent to the Bronx Zoo, on 27 January 2018

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Wandile Kasibe, I am a PhD Candidate in Sociology based in South Africa and my work deals with Museums, Displays and the Construction of Race. I am currently working on a chapter, following the footsteps of Ota Benga, who in 1906 was displayed at the Bronx Zoo, caged with a monkey with a sign written on his cage "The Missing Link".

In the afternoon of 25 January 2018, I came to visit your Zoo hoping to get some information about where and when Benga was at the Zoo and whether there are any records (letters, books etc.) that may give deeper insight into the circumstances that led him to the Zoo and how his life had turned out here at the Bronx Zoo.

On my arrival at the Zoo I went straight to the desk and purchased my entry ticket, after I had inquired about Ota's narrative from one of the two soft spoken gentlemen. None of the gentlemen knew about the story of Ota, but since I mentioned the Congo one of them gave me a map and then referred me to the Congo Gorilla Forest, which is right at the end of the Zoo from where I was. On my way to the Congo Gorilla Forest I passed the bisons, sea lions, birds, rhinos etc. After a long walk, I finally arrived at the Gorilla Forest, there I looked at what seemed to be the time line of the historical events relating to the Zoo. I stood there trying to locate any textual of photographic reference to the story of Ota and his presence at the Zoo, but I could not find any reference.

In your the timeline, at the end of end of the Gorilla Forest there is a '1906' gap that is unaccounted for which should feature in the space between 1890 and 1914. I was taken aback when reference to Benga being at your Zoo does not feature seems to have been erased and the question that I asked my self is: why? Has it being omitted because of its disturbing nature? Or is there a conspiracy of silence on the side of the Zoo? Or is it the way the Zoo is distancing itself from its racist and colonial past of displaying a Black African man as a 'live' specimen to generate income for the Zoo?

In the absence of the answers to these questions, i went further to inquire about this apparent gap and I was referred to the Education Department of the Zoo, there I spoke with a gentlemen by the name of Jason whose surname I have forgotten now, who when he could not provide answers to the questions I was asking, firstly about the display and what seems to be the erasure of the story of Ota Benga in the public history of the Zoo, literally showed me the door. As he held the door telling me to leave the building, I asked him to at least show some respect, as I had flown all the way from South Africa to verify information on the educational display of the Zoo.

I was disturbed by his attitude towards me and lack of sensitivity on what I was taking the institution on. He told me that no one wanted to chat to me about that right now and that I should go to the website, and I asked why should I go to the website when I am actually here in person. With the highest degree of arrogance mired with sarcasm he made it clear to me that, the building I was in is an education department not an exhibit and that the building was not accessible to the public. But then I asked if the display I was raising issues about was not an educational display, meaning he as an employee of the Zoo should be concerned about. He reiterated his earlier statement that there was no one in the Education Department who could help me and that I should go to the Public relations office and consult the website, I felt like he was saying, you are not welcomed in this Education department of the Zoo and that there is nothing that we can do to help you. I told him that, back home if a visitor/s come to any of our Iziko Museums in Cape Town and inquire about something on our display, we do our level best to help, especially if a visitor comes from afar and may not have an opportunity to make an appointment: firstly we respect the fact that he/she/they pointed out something that may have been overlooked and secondly we respect the fact that he/she/they came from afar to visit the institution and ask questions.

It was at this point that a young lady whose name I have forgotten, intervened, apologized for the manner in which I was treated and assured me that this is not how the Zoo treats people, but by the time she intervened, the damage had already been caused. As a way of assisting she provided me with information that and i appreciated her for the respect and professionalism she showed and helping me understand certain things.

I left the Bronx Zoo underwhelmed and deeply disturbed by what seems to be an attempt by the Zoo to erase the story of Ota Banga in the timeline of the Zoo. And I was disturbed by the highest degree of lack of sensitivity with which Jason treated me as the member of the public.

1. I now would like to establish the following: I would like to know as to where exactly in the Zoo was Ota Benga displayed or made to wander?
2. I would like to establish as to why the Zoo has decided to take Ota Benga's narrative/reference off its timeline or why it is no there, when it was part of the history of the Zoo?
3. I would like to have access to the archival material regarding Benga's presence at the Bronx Zoo - photographs, letters between Hornaday, Verner and others
4. I would like Jason to apologize for the manner in which he treated me.

I hope this email will reach your most favourable attention

I am looking forward to hearing from you

Regards, Wandile

Appendix P

Transcription of the Museum TRRC

Session One

Towards A Museum Truth, Repatriation and Reperations Comission: #MuseumTRRC, **29 September Iziko TH Barry Lecture (Transcritption)**

WK: On behalf of the CEO, I would like to welcome you all, that's the task that I have been given here to make sure that everybody is welcome and I also would like to acknowledge the presence of our speakers who are here.

ALBIE SACHS PRESENTATION VIA SKYPE:

There are three grand paradoxes in the work of museums but in any nature museums take the things they exhibit out of their context and break them out in a organic, living real connection that gives them, their meaning and the world in actual life. That's a paradoxe that museums throughout the world have to work with. Secondly museums claim to be neutral spaces, spaces where information, knowledge, objects are assembled for people to make up their own minds about the meaning with clues given by the curators and others in the museums but in reality of course is museums are located in the world, they are built by people, they are stored by people, they are designed by people and they have an imprint of the people who construct them. Museums are far from neutral, they are imbued with the values, the contradictions, the distortions, the injustices of the very society in which they function. And the third

paradoxe of museums is that they act in the name of enlightenment with the view to enhancing human understanding of the world and human society and yet this is not inevitably built into the nature of museums but for long periods of time museums have in fact become instruments, objects, mechanisms of inhumanity and all the three paradoxes come together in relation to the theme of this very extraordinary and very overdue workshop. I remember when I came back to South Africa after 24 years in exile in 1990, one of the first things I did was to go out to the (inaudible from 02:57 until 03:03)..I was curious, I had been here as a child, Sachs School was in town and we would be taken out to the museum. We loved getting out of class. We made a booking at (Inaudible 03: 12) and birds and visits and those are those things that somehow looking at information like that would make us more knowledgeable and more enlightened human beings and immediately as you walk into that the South African National Museum, on the left I remember, I saw models of, it was called The Bushmen Famished? (03:44) Communities and I felt such a sense of shock. They were very beautifully crafted, they were in a sense very respectful of the bodies and adaptations of the people but it was finding them in a museum like that, that was so shocking to me. It was taking human beings out of their lived habitat, with their dignity and personality and converting them into objects similar to the stands and the lizards and the birds and what was so striking then was that there were two museums in Cape Town: the one was called the Cultural Museum which is now where the Slave Museum is and that had the objects of the Dutch Settlers who came here, the beautiful things they used for pottery, the cups, the dresses and even the presence and the dignity as if to represent civilization and then in the museum with the lizards and the objects, and the butterflies

and the birds, you had the Bushmen and another section that was called The Natives and this was a form of converting human beings with, language, culture, dreams, communication, lived existence, dignity into objects to be looked and analyzed, depersonalized, dehumanize and so the indigenous people were exoticized and the people who came from abroad and settled and bringing their often inappropriate Dutch clothing with them, they were converted into living human beings with a culture. That's been attended to now, by Iziko and others (inaudible 05:40)..distribution, physical distribution of human beings in that way fitting in with the imperialist, racialist and colonialist type apartheid mentality but the theme of this conference, in a sense, goes even deeper and is far more abhorous than simply having a kind of segregation of whites only with culture in the museum at the top of Adderley Street and indigenous peoples together with the animals and the flora and fauna in a separate kind of museum. If one talks of how ironical that today whites are closer to nature, they don't want to be detached from nature but being part of nature does not mean you do not have history, that we don't have imagination, that we don't have culture. In any event the more savage form of museology wasn't simply the racist type of organication? (06:44) of people in different ways and we in Southern Africa had trickly, trickly brought this form of domination and colonization in terms of the manner in which the German imperialists, relative latecomers to the scramble of Africa, although the great conference took place in Berlin, they also wanted to get a foothold. Extremely harsh, poor occupation and decimation in what was then called German South West Africa and so this idea of separating our people and turning them into objects of study became even more bizarre , more grotesque. Peoples were somehow seen as inferior in the scale of

evolution and they were seen as worthy of elimination and it's a painful story of how two experiences in Southern Africa were later transported back to the centre of Europe, the centre of so called civilization. The one was something created by the British, the concentration camps which were used by the British to put down the resistance of the Boers in the South African Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902. To prevent the Boer commanders from getting support from the (inaudible 08:15) in countrysides, the women and the children were put into what was called they were concentrated into camps where thousands and thousands and died of typhoid and conditions were quickly recorded and so concentration camps then were invented by the British in Southern Africa and later on transported to Germany to lock out the opponents of Hitler and ultimately as part and parcel of extermination policies. The other was the genocide against the Herero people in Namibia where we have seen something that a superior race was entitled to do and that experience in Namibia was later brought back to Germany ending up with the genocide of the home force, the indication that Jews were vermin and that the world would be better off without them, the Gypsies were vermin, the homosexuals were vermin, people who were classified as being mentally defective were vermin, vermin and the world would be better off without them. The extension of that kind of objectifying and completely depersonalizing human beings was the extent in which the bodies of the tickled and the dying Herero people were to be moved to Germany to be studied scientifically and again this awful (inaudible 09:49) to the way in which the Nazi scientists studied the bodies of Jews and Gypies and other people regarded as lesser people. So these were extreme forms in the name of civilization, in the name of a superior race, it was thought to be permissible for people who people

who claimed to be scientists simply studying the world to get information about the world to make the world a better place in the image...these things were happening and the same kind of story is repeated in North America with the indigenous native Americans in Latin South Side of America of what is now Latin America with the indigenous people. In Australia and not quite the same but to some extent again another paradoxe, the controversy of the Namibian Italian imperialists backed up by their state now using the gunpowder that the got from China to attack China, the compass that they got from China, the knowledge to send their ships, their gunboats into the Italian's river waterways to conquer and dominate, to impose to that on the people in order to subvert them further and to see each as simply the as face of export,control, of domination and economic exploitation. So the rest of the 19th century museums and the 20th century museums took place in that context of very savage imperialist domination, exploitation and control and it was allied to a super science that would use measurements. You know those of us who studied criminology will see that the science of criminology started off with the study of the skulls, the craniums of criminals as if there was some kind of inbuilt tendency, genetic, biological tendency towards criminality and if we studied the measurements right we would be able to control it. And now of course we're living in a different era, these things are not recognized, they are not in law as permissible at all but the past doesn't just go away as some have pointed out the past is part of the present now and this is a very important time for re-examination and re-examination is not simply to denounce and to expose, important as those things are, it's to help rehumanize, rehumanize our souls, rehumanize our world, rehumanize our respect for each other, for diversity has to be

found in the world and to see also what we have in the museums that can now be re-appropriated. Karl Marx spoke about expropriation of the expropriators, if we can now re-expropriate the expropriated information in order to rehumanize our society and our world and I mention Karl Marx because that's another kind of paradoxe of museums. He spent years and years at the British Museum during the search on how Europeans through the Slave Trade through the physical extraction of wealth found what we call the Third World accumulated capital that became the foundation of modern industry in a huge way but he was able to use the British Museum, that itself was the product of imperial domination which kept objects from all over the world that it had accumulated materials from all over the world to exemplify British imperial leadership and control, intellectual control as well as physical domination through the Navy. He was able to use those very materials in Das Kapital and in that sense then the materials that were there can now be re-appropriated by humanity. What we need then is a form of re-appropriation and reparation. Reparation is often seen simply as money, for me money, in a way, is the opposite of reparation, reparation is about the soul, it's about humanity, it's repairing, repairing enemies, it's repairing existence, it's repairing a sense of being, that's the key thing. Money can play a significant role in achieving that but money is not the agency of reparation, it can simply be a simple one technique or mechanism of reparation. And I think it's also important when we go looking for reparations or we deem quite permutation any term you want to use, it's not simply to expect something that's toxic or innocuous and either that term, we would want to replace it with something, we want to replace it with a rehumananization and that's where, to come full circle in this presentation, for me being the theme of ubuntu and the civilization inherent

in the culture of people, within the oppressed people, of human solidarity, of respect, of concern, of interchange, of curiosity, of curiousity about the world. This is why we have to replace the ideology of plunder, domination, superiority, of exploitation. So we don't replace it with nothing, we don't replace it simply with a new form of cruel now-it's-our-turn, now-we-are-in-charge, we replace it with something more profound and more embracing and more capable of including in the human space for everybody who identifies with the basic themes of human solidarity. And it's with those words realy that, I can't hear you, so in that sense I literally have the last word. I'll have to find you, I wish the conference a great success. If you have any questions, then they can be written down and (inaudible 16:47) on a piece of paper for me to look at. {Clapping}

W: To get this connected, I would also like to acknowledge the presence of our Executive Director of Core Functions Dr Ndlovu, my director HIlton is here and Paul Tichman and Zenzile is also here. So I did acknowledge you in your absence, I am glad you're here. I see Ron Martin there, all of you, you have been acknowledged. Maybe I should actually add on to say that all protocol is actually observed. Clapping. Thanks Wendy.

Dr Wendy Black - Archeologist, Manager - Social History Collections

WB: Thanks Wandile. Thanks everyone for being here. Wandile asked me to give a brief synopsis about human remains collections in South Africa today just to contextualize what I am going to be talking about. So there are a number of collections in a number of institutions across South Africa. Many museums, universities all across the region hold human remains collections. Most of these collections are used for some

kind of scientific study, including medical examination so the future of doctors in our country, comparative collections as well as archeological investigations. These collections contain skeletons that include Southern African hunter gatherers from at least the last 10 000 years, it's really tapping into South Africa's ancient heritage and various other African populations and foreign populations make an appearance within these collections. Unfortunately a lot of museums and institutions have this legacy of unethical practices with regards to the collection of human remains.During the late 1800s and early 1900s, there was this extreme goal of collecting skeletal material or skeletons of individuals that represented the other, so those that were not white Europeans and that was seen as very important in terms of racially and scientifically based studies. The Khoisan in South Africa were particularly sought after because they represent a specific racial tye and what we see in South Africa specifically is that there was this increased trade in human remains and it was very very lucrative, so those people that were actively trading in human remains were making a lot of money. This led to the illicit things that we're talking about, things like grave robbing, stealing of bodies etc. And these human remains ended up at various institutions both within South Africa and abroad, so we see examples of Khoisan skeletons for example in institutions in Europe. What we also see is the beginnings of a casting or modelling technology particularly in and around 1920 where the bones themselves were not enough for studying a racial type and people wanted to preserve the external body. So we start having the legacy of casting which has been mentioned briefly this morning, just to give you some ideas of these collections, on your left you'll see there's, what they call, physical anthropology collection at the Vienna Museum of Natural History, this photo

was probably taken in the 1950s and you can see all the skeletons, bones in the collection as well as a cast of a Khoisan male. On your right, this part of Iziko's cast collection you can see it's pretty graphic, very much out of context and illicitly obtained. Alright, so some of these collections because of the manner in which they were collected are considered to be unethical. They are restricted because of this, so at Iziko for example we don't allow any research on these collections for both the casts and the human remains that were collected under these circumstances. These unethical collections, across South Africa, include a variety of populations, predominantly Khoisan, there's some Nguni, Zulu as well as a couple of other populations and as I have mentioned, there are foreigners. So we've got individuals from Namibia, Botswana, excuse me, Australia and in other institutions across South Africa we even see examples from the Americas. Just to give you an idea of the kind of collections we're talking about, just to show you some numbers, just, this is just me speaking to curators across the country and getting information about how many skeletons are in their collections. This might not be 100% accurate. But just to give you an idea, you can see the Iziko Museums of South Africa right at the top. Yeeuh I'm gonna kill myself with cables, we have no cadaver skeletons, we do have a large proportion of archeological specimens and by that I mean those collected under permit or because of construction and that are used in archeological investigations and then what we call the unethically collected collections, that means those collected under illicit means, we've got about a 160 individuals and I have also said there that whether these institutions have some kind of internal policy that regulates research, regulates access to these human remains and obviously Iziko has them. And you can have a look at other institutions, museums

and universities across the country, that have very large collections that are used for various things. So the university, universities like Wits and UCT have very large cadaver collections that are used by medical students. They also hold some archeological collections and what you will see is, in the third column, The Unethically Collected, you'll see there's many question marks. There's a lot of research that is not being done by curators of these collections to really divide these collections into what is unethical, what is not and that is really problematic and that is where we, as curators, seat in South Africa, where we have a lack of staff capacity, we don't have the time, money to conduct this kind of research and it is so sorely needed so that these individuals are not part of every search collection. In South Africa we have quite a large body of legislation that tries to manage access and how we deal with human remains, unfortunately it is really only a guide at this stage. The human remains are governed by a couple of Acts, for example the Human Tissue Act, the National Health Act, but the driving legislative force behind this is the National Heritage Resources Act of 1999, now it protects heritage objects, unfortunately human remains and graves are considered part of that. They are considered heritage objects which is a big failing in the National Heritage Resources Act. There is mention of restitution of objects in the Act but it's quite vague and in the last month in fact the South African Heritage Resources Agency has put out a notice to draft changes to Section 41 which is the Restitution of Heritage Objects. It makes what a heritage object is a lot more clear, unfortunately it still excludes human remains at this stage. The department of Arts and Culture is currently working on developing a national policy that will help guide all institutions and museums but this process has been incredibly slow, I mean more than a decade in the making

and it's been incredibly contentious, so nothing has been finalized yet. So museums and universities that hold these collections are largely on their own and we try and develop internal policies, and negotiate with each other, on how to properly and successfully manage these collections. It's not all doom and gloom,there have been some successful repatriations and reburials. In terms of repatriations, so human remains coming from abroad back to South Africa. We have Saartjie Baartman in 2002, as well as Klaas and Trooi Pienaar who came from Vienna in 2012. In terms of local reburials, we have Prestwich Place, the memorial ossuary, nearly 3000 human remains were found in Greenpoint and then an ossuary was built in collaboration with community consultation in 2004 although there is a lot contentiousness around Prestwich Place at the moment. A very successful reburial was the Mapungubwe Noble Skeletons that were held by the University of Pretoria and that was in 2007. So successful repatriation and reburial is possible if there is broad community consultation and discussion between all parties involved from government to academics to the public. Just to focus a little bit on Iziko. Iziko is one of the first museums to develop a Human Remains Policy and this was in 2005, the policy governs human remains conservation, protection, how we conserve the human remains. It governs access to the human remains and it doesn't allow any research on unethically obtained human remains. This collection and a few others in South Africa are the focal point of a lot of scientific research, we don't keep that a secret and the archaeologically collected skeletons are an important research globally. So we have international researchers coming all the time. Within the last few years just in terms of local outputs, there are a number of Phd postgraduate students all actively working on projects that help illuminate South African heritage, telling

biological stories of our people. There are a number of difficulties that go hand in hand when discussing human remains and the management thereof. As I've mentioned staff capacities at institutions, dealings with these collections is extra-ordinarily limited, and as you see there is lot that still needs to be done. There's no adequate investigations that are currently being executed, very little, I am the only physical anthropologist at Iziko and I have an enormous job and part of that is to go through these collections, so I can add one individual perhaps in a year when I have time, so it's not nearly sufficient. Fundings for things like reburials, community discussions, stakeholder discussions, and any other associated expenses are not forthcoming, the institutions tend to have to drive funding processes themselves.Community engagement can be very difficult, there are a number of groups, everyone wanting their own say and it can be problematic. Some of the curators that I have spoken to across Southern Africa tend to be very fearful of stakeholder engagement because these scenarios tend be aggressive, there tends to be a lot of anger and in my experience of the last few years, this is in fact the case and if curators and people who manage these collections are not adequately trained on how to manage people it can become very difficult and quite scary for those mediating these discussions. Where was I? National policies need to be in place before any decisions can be taken, so we wait for national government to step up and provide this national policy that we can use.Timeous implementation is key, so as I have said this has been taking, from the records I have read it's at least 20 years that we've been waiting for certain policies to be in place and people are angry and people are upset and this really needs to change, we need start moving this process forward as fast as possible. What I have also seen is that the inclusivity of indigenous communities in any kind of research,

about their heritage, and their participation in these discussions has been sorely lacking in the past and it's also something that needs to change and with that comes a component of education. It is time that indigenous people to South Africa or Southern Africa are teaching about their own heritage rather than privileged white academics who come in and tell indigenous populations about their own heritage. So there has to be a change, a shift in education procedure and participation policy. There's a tale of severe caution when dealing with human remains and in my experience over the last few years, this is a universal or should I say global problem. Human remains discussions tend to be incredibly controversial and incredibly political, unfortunately. Many people tend to have a political or financial agenda and this can hamper any process or progress in dealing with human remains. Reburials really need to be about the individual and when I say the individual, I mean firstly the human remains themselves, the actual individual skeleton as well as the individual that is affected within the community by the bitterness, the anguish and pain of these collections. Instituions that hold these collections need to be sensitive to the anger, the bitterness and the generational trauma that is evident within communities and that is held by many. Institutions also need to be fully transparent, fully inclusive of all populations affected by these events and be very mindful of the differences in cultural and spiritual activities in aspects within each population group. Institutions also need to be partial custodians that evaluate human remains claims on evidence with guidance from some kind of national policy and everyone needs to talk, communication becomes key and to echo what Justice Sachs said reparations cannot be financial. What we are seeing now, Western Cape government has actually done a few reburials of local skeletons that

have been held in small community museums and what has happened is that the government just comes in and says: We have R5000, we can pay for a bit of catering for a party but if you want the human remains buried it's the community that has to drive the process. So someone from down the street has tobacco, someone else makes samosas, someone else does something and the community joins together and those burials have been very successful and they have really healed the community rather than offering financial gain in any way and I think that's the route that most institutions and museums have to take. And I think that's me thank you very much.

Zenzile Khoisan - Author, Journalist - Deputy Editor Eland News

Good morning and sorry for coming here late. I'm always amazed that these discussion are able to bring people out usually on a Saturday and it shows that there is interest in this very important question. I think for me the core question that we are dealing with in what both Wendy has pointed out and Justice Sachs has pointed out is that this is a very emotive, extremely controversial, highly sensitive matter handled incorrectly. It could bring on the whirlwind. Now, I come to this discussion partly because I have been one of the people over the years that has been part of this process of driving the call for stopping the abuse of the great ones that have gone before us. And what I mean by that, I mean that it is time to let the ancestors whomever they belong to, rest and fly free through the evermore. And why do I say that? I am conscious of the fact that our country has come through incredible turbulence and through a compromiso-historico we created an institution called The Truth and Reconciliation Commission. I was part of that process in fact I was one of the people at the very core face of that project and if we are to deal with what the intent of the framers was of the Act driving South Africa's national

Truth and Reconciliation Commission, it can be distilled into a simple formula and I speak as somebody was deeply inside that process. Both before, during and after and that is, truth telling in exchange for reparation, in exchange for amnesty and that is, that is the formula that the framers of the TRC Act came up with in trying to come to grips with 34 years of South African history, 1960-1994. When we deal with this emotive issue and by the way from what I know, from the very inside of that process, and as I have detailed in my book, *Jacaranda Time*, which tells the authorized version of the TRC, that process went incredibly askew, in fact the entire formula was inverted. It became a process of the victim of that historical travesty telling their truth and then the perpetrators getting dragged, kicking and screaming to that table, halfway having to pull their teeth out to get a fragment of truth and eventually the victims getting short-changed. Now, why do we need, and that was just 34 years of South African history. What I found in that process and I think I investigated maybe 800 of the cases and most of those cases I investigated were murders. It was an incredibly taxing..but in fact many of the members of the investigating unit did not survive intact. It was a deeply disconcerting process because everyday we had these people who were coming into the TRC office and they were coming there with these visible scars, either the psychological scars of having lost a loved one and spending in limbo about the context, the full set of events that gave rise to that gross human rights violation or the fact that the perpetrators of these acts had been given a free ticket walking around in society and literally were verging on impunity even while the process was going on. Now after the commission we went into, we, the issue of the indigenous researchers became more and more of what I would consider my primary work, personal and social and collective

excavation of who we are and part of that excavation unearthed so many uncomfortable facts. Some of the people sitting in this audience here such as Ron Martin and others had to put up a huge fight, we put up a tremendous fight around the question of the San (inaudible 40:15) and there were people who were questioning the perspectives that we were placing in that discussion. Others like Professor Sieraaj Rasool, whom I had many discussions with, about the collections in the McGregor Museum in Kimberly and then just troubles. I think I must have interviewed about 3000 people in that process and of all the people I interviewed there were two who stand out, one was Oom Qona Rooi and another one was, who is now dearly beloved and late, and then another one was Oom David Kruiper and sitting there in the quiet, deep in the frontier part, I asked them: what do you do with the bones? And both of them answered almost simultaneously to me and we have covered this in many of the reports we have written, did the state ons mense (speaks in Afrikaans 42:00 - 42:15), simply stated it means that we have to let him rest so that we can restore our dignity, our humanity and for me when it comes to the question of remains, I am often struck by the fact that these remains whether it's been in Australia where I have been, whether it's been New Zealand, Latin America or all throughout the United States and Canada, many of these remains, the remains that are kept as the or the remains that we were talking about, the remain of the Khoe, the primary remains that are the visible evidence, exhibit A, of the lucrative trade in human suffering are to do with foundational peoples. Now one of the interesting things about this society is that we've gone through a Truth Commission, we've gone through a compromiso-historico, we have an alleged democracy which is underpinned by a Bill of Rights but more than 20 years into that democracy we have a society that is incredibly

schizophrenic, deeply, deeply unhinged, incredibly bereft of value driven social mores and by the sheer scope of the depravity that is visceral and visible everywhere at this time, I have a deep sense that we are dealing with a society that has become divested of both its conscience and its spiritual centre or core. Now what to do about this thing, I mean the fact that we have admittedly unethically collected human remains still in cupboards, the fact that you have skeletons in universities, the fact that the (inaudible - name of museum, I think it's Albany Museum - 45:21) museum where the Kouga Mummy finds its current place of residence, I have not been able to come to terms after all these years in this democracy with the process to put this thing to rest, to answer the question of Oom David and Oom Qona Rooi is problematic. But the second problem is that we have have a governance inaction. We lack people and we vest them with the authority to act in our best interest, we hand them vast power and over more than 25 years, they have been incapable of finding the will, not only to deal with 50 million people and the fact that they are unhinged, but to solve what could be one of the biggest assistances/systems (46:48) held bombs to deal with that problem which is to lay our people to rest. Now if we were to shift the scenario and as we say, create a Museum Truth Repatriations and Reparations Commission, what would it do? How would it be rolled out, how would it conduct its work, what would be its end point? In the first instance it would have to be driven by the fact that we want to put the past into clear perspective to find the full truth as the Truth Commision, to find a full truth or as complete a truth as possible about what happened with these remains, how they got there, who was involved? Was there documentation attached, all of those things, all of the antecedents of those acts. The fact that the human remain is in a place is one part

of it, how did it get there? Who was involved, who are the confederates who were part of that process, all have to be unearthed. Was it part of a government policy or was it part of a broader policy? Now we know that we can go back into, for instance, into the Roman Catholic Church and we can look at the doctrine of discovery which according to Father Michael Lapsley says “permission was given for desecration ”, so for instance if we have to pull together a commission of any kind, an institution like the Roman Catholic Church at its apex, The Pope would have to come and account to that commission and we can go through all the religious institutions because they were all handmaidens of a process in some way or another. Then we have to look at the financial institutions like the VOC and all of those other commercial instruments of colonization and dispossession and then we would have to look at the people who actually benefited from those acts, was it a particular family, a particular farm where those remains were collected, where the people were captured, all of those things have to be brought into..So technically those are some of the things that would have to be done, dealt with. You would have to put together a Research Unit, an Investigations Unit. It would have to have power, will, it would have to be able to have the power to subpoena an unwilling witness. If it was done in the past, say 400 years ago, the succeeding government, like for instance the current government of the Netherlands, through a properly delegated official would have to come and explain the role of that government and then the institutions like Iziko, Wits University and ? (inaudible 50:56) because it’s often said that anthropology has been the handmaiden of imperialism because sometimes if you just look at indigenous knowledge systems, the process through which foundational or indigenous people are divested from their indigenous

knowledge systems and these things of human remains are part of that indigenous knowledge system, you would see that (Inaudible 51:26) there was an anthropologist involved. So the institution and commission of anthropology (I'll finish ma'am), the institution and commission of anthropology would have to be brought here. How will it conduct its work? It would have to conduct its work in an extremely ethical way, it'd have to be transparent and it would have to declare periodically to the public. There would have to be the, for instance in the case of the Foundational Peoples from which a remain came, there would have to be a deep engagement with that community to try to find as close as possible, as close as possible the place where that person was taken from, where that human remain was taken from so that the reburial process can occur in a dignified manner. For me if I would have to look at this question, this question is such an important national question now because the call to put history into perspective and to heal as a nation cannot be done outside of taking a firm and an uncompromising decision to let the great ones rest. And secondly reparations, I agree with Justice Sachs, Wendy and many of my compatriots, money must be taken as far away from this process as possible because one of the things that has destroyed the indigenous peoples worldwide and harmed peoples is money, we don't need money. We need dignity and a proper way of memorialization and finally when the commission does its work, you pull together an investigative unit, you pull together a policy framework process that's aligned to government and to all the departments that are interconnected. So that you have a policy alignment with a running commission that has an objective, an objective which is simply that this must never happen again. Thank you.

End of Part One and Discussion

Question 1

Thank you program director, greetings to Wendy Black and Zenzile Khoisan. (inaudible until 54:54) First of all to Iziko Museums as an institution, I'm not going to speak to individuals or you know who insists that CEO and etc must be here, you know, we are not making trouble today. This is a very serious, emotional and emotive topic and I think it should be treated with the level headedness and treatment that it deserves. First of all the initiative itself is a very brave one and I must commend of Iziko for even entertaining a discussion like this. That in itself is a major step in the right direction especially for a national institution to assume that role and responsibility. I am just going to make a couple of comments maybe ending with a question. Some of the first notes that I made while Dr, Professor Sachs and Dr Black was speaking was of course when the, if there is such a thing, if such a thing arises as a TRRC Commission, first of all, two questions, will there be testimony and will there be full disclosure? In a testimony I say because marginalized people throughout history have been stifled, the fact that they have been silenced by imperialistic and oppressive systems for hundreds of years. So testimony has always been very difficult to attain and to obtain. I think Zenzile did put some of that into perspective in his talk but I think the question should still be up there and then when it comes to full disclosure you know what would constitute full disclosure, on whose responsibility will it be to try and obtain full disclosure and full disclosure is not just a generalistic term, it's with regards to specific things like, first of all, how did human remains get to be housed within that institution, why was that institution chosen to be

the ossuary of those remains. What are those remains been used for? I know Dr Black very bravely actually said that look we never hid the fact that they are being used for studying, how does that the public feel about the fact that they are being used to study. Where are the reports that came about as a result of that study. Why is it that the beneficiary community or the community where those remains were removed from being...why is it that study or the results being made available to those communities, I mean it's about them, isn't it? So those type of questions, you know, it's one thing that human remains are hidden away in boxes, in cupboards etc, hidden from the communities where they came from, where they were taken from forcibly but if they are being used for study then the information should be out there because like, Dr Black concluded, it would be a good thing if the indigenous people could be teaching other indigenous people or generations to follow about themselves as opposed to, her words not mine, privileged white academics. I can' be held account for making a racist statement (laughs). I just thought that I would put those things out there first because I think there's going to be a lot more discussion arising from this. Thank you.

Question 2

Thanks, Nadia, I am from the community of Bonteheuwel. Now I am a bit concerned and I share the sentiments of the previous speaker who walked out. I don't know how the invitation was extended to Bonteheuwel because I myself I don't know anything about the topic that is being discussed here, I do however know a lot of people in Bonteheuwel that would have had an interest to be here. So that is a concern for me, I

speak on behalf of myself and not the group that is here from Bonteheuwel, that I can't even contribute to the discussion here because I just don't know.

Wandile Kasibe responds to Question 2

The second question, maybe I can contribute to that and maybe let me start with, let me respond to it because I have also been involved in the organizational aspect of this programme and I think this is really the point of why we open these spaces to allow exactly for that process of, you know, community education to raise awareness on these very issues because often at times these discussions they do take place in exclusive spaces such as these and I think that part of this realm of these discussions is to make sure that this conversation actually takes place in the communities and I am very excited you know, it excites me when I see communities accessing museums and interpreting the collections in many different ways and I think that going forward, in future we should have discussions such as this in for example Bonteheuwel, what's stoppin us from having these conversations there because what we are dealing with here, we are dealing with very sensitive topics of our ancestors, who knows, maybe you know, there's a direct connection between the community of Bonteheuwel with some of the issues that we are speaking with here, so I think for me, your question is actually very very pertinent in that this discussion actually answers that question to say that there is a need for us to have community engagements that deal with issues of this nature. So I don't know if I've answered your question.

Zenzile Khoisan responds

Okay to start off with Nadia, the question of Bonteheuwel and why maybe a discussion of this nature would be important is, if there is any community that has been really disrupted and made turbulent with these really really serious social problems, it is a place like Bonteheuwel and (clapping), I'm actually very glad that you're here, by the way I was born in Bonteheuwel, I was born in Blombos Street, so I am a child of Bonteheuwel (clapping). And a lot of the people who came to Bonteheuwel have so many different pathways to which they got to Bonteheuwel. Bonteheuwel was established after people had been removed from other places and there are many parts of our communities who don't have complete stories. They are sometimes...we don't even know what happened with another ancestor, we don't know, where does the story, how far does our family tree go? And things of this nature when we deal with issues of human remains and having a dignified story we can tell to the future is very important and I am glad that your children are here. Now question number 1, you know the way the truth commission worked last time is that there were what we call public hearings then there were sectorial hearings and then there were Section 29 or in-camera hearings. I think all three of those must apply, why? Number one we need to have certain window cases, like for instances, just to illustrate a case of Sarah Baartman. Here is a case of a woman, a young woman, abducted from South Africa, ends up in Britain eventually her remains ends up in glass jars in a museum in France and a big struggle eventually brings her back. That woman came from somewhere, she's not just Remain No. 4289 in a glass jar in a museum. She actually comes from the

Gamtoos River, she comes from a people, her remains now rest in Hankey near to where it is assumed she came from originally but part of what has happened with these human remains in the case of Sarah Baartman. We can illustrate why we need to assert agency around letting human remains to rest. So the public hearing would be to discuss how that journey happened and people who, number one, come from that area, are in some way related or who are part of a researching group can come and testify. Then the people whose responsibility for that museum where those human remains were kept and testify about what happened year after year, after year, after year, why was there no protocol around the return of those human remains and then the third part of it would be, from Pretoria's perspective because these kind of commissions mustn't just be about rancour. We must also try to find solutions where the government of France can say how the poem of Diana Ferrus *I Have Come To Take You Home* motivated the whole French parliament so that they could start the process that in fact moved the South African government into action to bring home Sarah Baartman. So that's..I don't wanna go any further but I would say that's part of what I think would happen and other things would have to happen. Academic institutions would have to testify and our own government officials must come and testify but it must be like a State Capture because this is a Skeleton Capture Commission. They must come and testify why they sat on their hands for 25 years while their ancestors were sitting in cupboards.

Dr Wendy Black Responds

I think I will, yes I agree with what Zenzile has been saying and in terms of testimony, I think it expands a lot more than just someone coming about why an academic or an institution didn't do anything for 25 years but testimony also gives voice to the voiceless, the previously voiceless. A testimony can be from any community member that feels betrayed, embittered, angry, sad, anyone who experiences that generational trauma should have that opportunity to share their experiences and their feelings and so testimony is a lot more than just the legal or the legislative aspect, i think it has to be a lot more emotive as well and then I'll just touch on Ron's 2nd question on full disclosure. I can only talk in terms of Iziko and we have documentation from the late 1800s and early 1900s that illustrates how human remains were transferred from one place to another, who did it, why, we know the people's names, we know what they were doing, we know what they were paid and those documents would be readily accessible to the public, they would have to be so that it becomes part of this TRRC.

W: Thank you very much.

Credits:

Filmed by Mbali Mqeteba and Wandile Kasibe

Speakers for the first session:

Justice Albie Sachs

Dr Wendy Black

Zenzile Khoisan

Institution:

Iziko Museums of South Africa

Department: Education and Public Programmes

*****************Ends*************

Session two of the Transciption of the Museum TRRC

Session Two

FINAL TRRC VIDEO | 29 September Iziko TH Barry Lecture

Professor Ciraj Rasool

Goozen Kasibe and thanks very much to my colleagues who have spoken before hand. This thing is working right? It's a bit soft?

So 18 years ago in this very room here when my colleague, my now late colleague from the University of the Western Cape, where I teach, Professor Martin Legassick and I came to talk about our research that we had just done about the history of this museum and to talk about the history of the theft of human remains of people from their graves and the way in which this museum and other museums in South Africa and Europe purchased those skeletons after bodies were taken from their graves and boiled down to bone on the spot. We came here to talk about those findings and to make the

argument that human remains need to be returned to where they came from for reburial. The archeologist, Tim Maggs, who was sitting in that corner stood up, my memory is that he shouted at us but it might not have been so extreme but he said “You want to burn my archive”, that’s what he said. Because as we gather here today after almost 2 decades of having these discussions, we need to note firstly that the times are changing. When Sarah Baartman was returned to South Africa, it took an act of parliament in France to make it possible for her remains to be returned to South Africa because in general museums do not want to give up what they hold and secondly those scientists, those archaeologists who think that it is their right to have access to those remains, they do not want to give up that right. Now let me try to be charitable to them because they think that their access to those remains is part of their responsibility of caring for them. They think that, that is what they need to do. The reason why we have not yet moved forward in South Africa, why there is no human remains policy yet is because of those disciplines of science who think they retain those rights of access. Because it is thought that what we are talking about is finding some balance in the debate between the community and the scientists to find the right balance and unfortunately the policy development process that the Department of Arts and Culture is going through is caught up inside that contradiction and unable to move forward because it is holding up this fallacy of the value of science. Now the only circumstances in which museums in this day and age should hold human remains are in the cases of those human remains donated to that museum in terms of legislation. When people donate their bodies to science for the purpose of medical education, for the purposes of scientific research on disease, on anatomy. Only in those circumstances when it is

ethically, when the ethical circumstances are in order should museums hold human remains and that would be the case in medical museums as happens in a city like Cape Town like in other cities around the world, when development occurs and buildings are erected and roads are built, in a city with a long history such as Cape Town, it is normal that graves will be uncovered, that burials will be uncovered. But we know what happens. The cases that Dr Black referred to, the case of Prestwich Place, the ossuary, represented the defeat of the people of cape town. It was a defeat where a cemetery of slaves, the cemetery of our ancestors was not able to prevent a building from being built on that spot. It was defeat and that ossuary was a compromise institution. Let me tell you as well, the second example that she referred us to as a successful reburial through consultation at Mapungubwe, that is not a reburial, my argument, that was merely a transfer of the laboratory from the universities to an underground vault at Mapungubwe because you know what a burial is? A burial should limit access which is also the case of an ossuary because in the struggle that took place at Prestwich Place, the case of defending and protecting the graves was defeated, the rights of private of property won out and the Rockwell was built on top of what was the cemetery. The ossuary represents the possibility of future access when at the moment those scientists have no right of access to those remains. So we're at a time when we need to find a way to escalate this matter because our government has stalled completely. There was a moment 6 or 7 years ago when the remains of Klaas and Trooi Pienaar were returned to South Africa. It was a great moment for South Africans because it was the moment when South Africa developed a unique methodology, a way of returning human remains from a museum in Europe which was stolen from the Kuruman district in the Northern

cape. A return that the South Africans referred to as an act of rehumanization of remains of people who had been turned into objects in the museum.

That was meant to be the beginning of a more extensive process of returns, of negotiating with the Austrian government for further returns, and unfortunately that process stalled. From our research we know that the remains of at least three people can be named, we can attach biographies and names and family relatedness to at least three more people from that collecting history. The remains of Khoe, of Kruisbant and of Masebi who came from Kaipan? (11:02) And we can tell the dates on which their skeletons were taken out of their graves and taken to Europe. We can also reconstruct what was on the ox-wagon that travelled from Kaipan and with the assistance of Sophie Schasiepen who is sitting in the centre there, we have also been able to find the rock engravings that was stolen from the area and illegally shipped off to Austria. When all members of the Austrian government have always denied that that had happened and unfortunately our government has stalled on that project of returning our ancestors because these are not just, these are not objects, these are the remains of people who are our ancestors. We have more difficulties here. In the middle next to Sophie is Goodman Wasira who is an archaeologist who works in Namibia. You will remember that until 1990, South Africa ruled over Namibia. In this museums like in other museums there are remains of Namibian ancestors that have to be returned to Namibia. So there is a lot of work to do.

It is possible that the idea of a Truth Commission can accelerate that process but we need a commission of inquiry, we need a mechanism to be able to put pressure on government to treat this as a matter of extreme urgency and it is urgent for a museum such as Iziko because what Iziko is doing as an institution that has its origins in the colonial subjection of people. It's origins are in the subjugation of people. This is a museum that wants to go through a full process of democratization. It wants to become our museum. It was not our museum before. We were excluded from these kinds of spaces in a conceptual sense, in a political sense. And so this museum as you have heard wants to go to Bonteheuwel, this museum wants to take itself to the people and in order for it to be able to do that as part of this act of going through this self cleansing, the self, to look itself squarely in the eye, to look at its violent history, to look at its rapacious history, to cleanse itself of that. We need to commend Iziko for wanting to do that and for asking us to help them as they go through that chapter. Thank you very much (Clapping)

Dr June Bam-Hatchinson Leads on the NHSS catalytic pre-colonial historiography project

Hello, my name is June. My naam is June. It's very difficult to speak after Ciraj, he's the big Professor on this. (Speaks Afrikaans from 15:15-15:21)..So I come from the Veld and the Fynbos and I've grown up on (Speaks Afrikaans from 15:31-40, clapping...) *So my naam is Dokter* something but my mother used to say I'm just a bos (bush) doctor. So anyway what I want to say is I thought that I'll start when I came to, very quickly, when I came to UCT, second year, in the peak apartheid days. That time, to study archeology the discipline that Ciraj is speaking about, you had to do, to be able to be at

a white university, where the human remains of your ancestors are, you had to have special permission from Pretoria. So I then took archeology and I was probably one or two of the black people in the class and we were taken to the medical school of the University of Cape Town (Speaks Afrikaans from 16:45-16:49)..anatomy..(continues in Afrikaans until 16:59)..and (Afrikaans until 17:04), I'm in a space where not, I don't belong, I need a permit first of all. Secondly I'm completely with people who are Afrikaans speaking, they're English speaking and I' 've come from the veld, another way of knowing things nhe, verstaan? And here I am with all these people from Bishops and all over the schools and so on (Afrikaans 17:34-17:36) The lecturer sort of opens the bodies to show us and some of the anatomy pieces are in bottles and so on and I recognize some of the bodies like my school friends from primary school. They looked like a little girls, I was at school with them, Cape Flats Primary Schools, Cape Flats District Association and *ek gooi op*, I vomited but I'm the only one in the class that vomits and the only who's sick for days. I did not understand what that was about. So it troubled me severely because I've seen my own people being studied and I don't know. We asked how come, somebody asked: "how come these bodies came here to UCT because they look so familiar, they are not buried and there's still studies on them?" and the lecturer then said: oh some of them are homeless and so on and so on. Now the homeless people we know, bergies, to me those are, very, to my understanding it's very much the displaced Khoisan people, black people of South Africa. In Cape Town in particular, you can trace them back to the mountains, you can trace them to Khoi people who come from the mountains, the ethnic cleansing (Afrikaans 19:10-19:12)..so we don't even recognize where we were.Right.

So in a way, just to situate what I want to say about the human remains, I think it's very urgent and I agree fully with Ciraj that we need to do this very quickly and there can no longer be delays especially this apology that we don't know when we do know and sometimes when we don't really know. We know that collectively if you take the age of your grandmother and say from my generation and you multiply the people like from my family, from my grandmother about, we are about 150 direct descendants and she was born in 1905. Now if you go back and back and back and you look at how many people still come from that, within one, you can easily if I look at all the statistics that Dr Black gave us, i mean you are looking at 1600 and another 230, you multiply that I think, even just for the unethically 230 you'll end up with a quarter million people affected. So how can we say we need to find these, if we can't really get the individual responsibility and so on, it really delays things and so on. So what...And I think we have to move the conversation and the debate to the collective impact and it's at least conservatively speaking in terms of the little maths I did, we are talking a quarter million if we're talking...it depends on the period of course and so on, very conservatively speaking. So what kind of...in this kind of Truth and Commission and Reparations Commission, can we not look also at quantifying the collective impact the same as you do with the slave trade and the impact, I know the London School of Economic is looking at how Barclays Bank has actually benefited through interest and they have actually going..The Economist are now going, hopefully something gets done about it, but doubt it they are actually starting a process of quantifying the impact and the same should be done and I really agree with the previous speaker, we should really find a way in which to quantify

what has happened but in a way not for individual benefit but for community benefit because I think that we owe it to the people who are descendant of these atrocities to invest in community development programs and especially women and girl children. Foetal Alcohol Syndrome, who are those people, you know they say the Khoisan died you know and you can't speak the extinct, there are few left and so on and others are confused they don't know who they are. It's a lie. Who are the bergies, who are the Foetal Alcohol Syndrome people, who are the people on the farms that are still on the same dop system, who are they? So I feel that there should be some reparation that's collective, communal and should not leave out the girl child. *Die meisies is hier vaandag*, they are here and because a lot, there's been a lot of distortion about how knowledge has been passed on in pre-colonial times and we do our work with the communities in Vygrond and elders of 80 years and older with the pre-colonial Khoisan ritual, understandings and practices and memories and stuff because look that's been suppressed during apartheid because then you're black, if you just speak about cattle slaughter, oh then you must be the 4th category within the apartheid demographic system. So people sort of forgot, they purposefully forgot who they were and so girl children, women played a very important role in the knowledge and how the knowledge had to be carried on and we know that, we must just remember.

We know that and the drinking of the herbs the wilde dagga, the buchu, the agtig ensbosie, the dasipas. That was all contextual to who we were and that human remains and those rituals and the women as part of it and passing on that information and knowledge over to girl children as we used to do should all be part of how we take this

forward because not only was there a genocide but people don't want to speak about it but there was also the epistemicide, the taking away of knowledge (Afrikaans 24:24-24:30) so we are also a little bit ashamed and shy and I think that is where I would like to see, in my mind, in terms of, only in my perspective, and where we, where we take reparations in a contextual way and universities have to come to say what their role has been and I think that is where, I always say we need this Truth Commission with the universities because they not only hold on to these remains, they also exclude the people who come from this history. They exclude the people who come from this history and they are countable and they don't listen and the ethics are also quite questionable. So I think I'll end it there and just to say that we need spiritual reparation to get back to what Judge Sachs said but what would the material aspects of that spiritual reparation be and I think, it's got to be for me, it will have to do with giving back to the community in ways that will help with the historical patterns of Alcohol Foetal Syndrome, displacement from the land, displacement from who we are, and children and women in particular while still suffering the violence that takes on other forms as a result of this unsettled issue of our, of the people who have been ancestors which ever way you want to call it. Thank you. (Clapping)

Discussion

Questions 1

Good to see you again, hello Ciraj, thank you for that. I Have two questions. What would have been the best way to handle the findings of the human remains in Prestwich. And why do you think that our government has stalled with developments in this area. And also I know, you did not speak about the TRC but I just also wanted to speak about why

nothing happened further from the Truth Reconciliation Commission and in your opinion what would have been a good way to deal with the living and the dead in that very special moment in time and do you think that moment in time is lost or do you think there's still something that we can work on?

Question 2

I'm very inquisitive as to the history at school level starts at level 4 so I believe that children are taught content that they are tested on quarter by quarter and obviously so going through school and where you do a proper course for a proper conceptual understanding of history so by the time you get to university, is there any prescribed, who effects, the prescribed service for history students? I'm assuming that the umdergrad level students don't have a choice as to the topic they choose so you know. History departments at universities, is there no way that in the matter of, especially with regards to human remains because, I mean, they always force us to excavate, you know, to the best possible manner. Any clarity for us who remains and for those for the next generation coming but I mean if, if people can at postgraduate level research can research on whatever they choose they might divert to other topics in history which is not, I mean because I'd like to know where my grandfather's remains is, you know, I mean he came from apparently from the West, he was a slave from America, I don't..and where my grandmother come from and where they're laying right now you know. Thank you.

Dr Bam-Hutchinson Responds

Zahiera's question, the Prestwich still bothers me quite a bit because I think it's now turned into a complete coffee shop, so people, even the door is not in the front but at the back. So you can go in there and they don't even know what it's about human remains. You can actually just have good coffee and leave again. And the people outside also, the people who beg outside it's literally the bergies. They don't even know there's a connection between themselves and what's inside. So I think the best way to handle the processes stalled, but I think it should be reopened and I think it should be part of the Truth Commission process, a required process. Because something happened, something went wrong and the good intentions came out something else. So I think it's..and those people are not resting, they are still there in little boxes and I wonder how many people know about Prestwich Memorial here in the room for example, but I know quite a few people, like the taxi driver who often takes me there, sometimes it's a different taxi driver then I go for research or teaching and they always asks me: why do you always come here? And they are from Cape Town just down the road, they say that..and they are from this history, they've never ever really heard about it, so they're shocked. So something has gone wrong about Prestwich and its memorial. So I think we just need, I think we just need to open the process but part of a bigger process, but I don't think we should separate the different aspects, we must have it as part of one big process of questioning. And on the 2nd question of the TRC, I think the big limitation of the TRC, of course, as we know all well documented, was very much about the individual, perpetrator, victim but what about the collective, the community, the things, the unspeakable, that we still can't speak about. Inner tings like the way we like to lighten our skins and our family splits and who was black and who was coloured

and who was old and who in the process, you know. Those things we don't speak about and of course we're gonna get to the land question. So it's far from over but it should probably be a different model and we need to speak about what that would look like and human remains at the core. Of course I think it symbolizes so much more and I mean so much more. The third question on the (32:10 inaudible)..I am based at the centre for African studies at UCT. And we cannot go on with the disciplines. I'm gonna leave that to you Ciraj to speak on more (laughter). You do very well…

Sieraaj: You're an expert

Dr BH: Oh ok, the school history..This is what I've done about almost 20 years ago. But anyway with, should I say..Uncle Kader and with about 14 years ago, we did the new history curriculum but when you see it now there are many problems, I don't even recognize it, it's not what it was back then. It's been washed, white washed out, recycled since we left that, 2004, so 14 years ago. One of the big things that do come up is pre-colonial history and really really getting into Khoisan history in particular which is not really there. But this will really mean...and African studies, the research project that I'm doing is to get that as formal knowledge into the schools so the rituals and things that we are now learning about in places like Vygrond and all over and other parts of the country - and Kershin is here also works with me on the Ethics committee - is to really...These forums are extremely important getting partnerships, we're also working with a Khoi leadership and some of them as knowledge keepers yeah or entrances into knowledge keeping because we don't want to get involved in anything

about who's the leader and who's not (laughs). We just say straight that we can't do that, we're just gonna stall the process, what are the knowledge forms, who are the scholars, who know what and so it's a networking process but with an impact for the history curriculum. I'm gonna leave this to Ciraj to speak about how human remains and heritage..because he's the expert on that.

Professor Ciraj Rassool responds

Thank you very much June. You know Zenzile was absolutely correct when he gave a very insightful analysis of the weaknesses of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the model and especially how it was implemented in South Africa. But one of the, perhaps, the best outcome that occured of the TRC was the creation of the Missing Person's Task Team in the office of the National Prosecutions Authority and where over the last many years they have conducted work in order to find the missing bodies of people who were murdered by the apartheid state and how they were even their bodies were mutilated in the most terrible ways at places like Vlakplaas and where they have also sought to find the hidden burials of activists who were executed by the state and to return those bodies to our..to their families, I and my colleagues and some of my students have been very privileged to have been present at some of those events, at the disintenants (please confirm 36:18), at the discovery of the graves, of uniting family members with the dead and one of the concepts that we have begun to work with is the idea of missingness, *vermiste persona* but to turn that idea of *vermiste* of missing into a something we can think with because as the colleague has explained when you have a society such as South Africa that has an overlaying of multiple histories of disruption of removal, of people disrupted in such a way that you're removed from your own history

so that you don't know who you are, you cannot tell your story beyond one generation where you..where the whole purpose of the part of your dehumanization was to remove you from a story of who you are and your connectedness with other people, to try to do that as part of removing all your dignity from you.

This idea of history, of histories, of being able to tell our stories and finding ways to recount and recall and tell the stories of how we are connected becomes so important that it cannot be left to something that we formally call the discipline of history, although that is one way in which it happens. I teach in the department of history at a university and many years ago, *ek is nou 'n ou ma*n, many years ago when this was an apartheid museum, we used to send our students in here as part of a course that we began teaching on *Africa, Race and Empire*. We began sending our undergrad youth students in here and they came in here with their tape recorders and want to interview people, they came in here and interfered and that was a small part of the multiple pressure that was put on this institution. And so we hear there are developments afoot to make history compulsory and to think about..you know one of the dangers is that we work with a sense of history which is organized by the state to tell a certain kind of story that justifies the outcome of that state. What we call, the academics use a big word for that kind of history, they call it a teleological story where we learn to tell the story according to the way it turned out, with outcome we know. Right. So..and where we tell it as a story of triumph, it's a triumphal narrative because it must have a happy ending, you can't tell it with an ending of suffering. You know so when you go to Robben Island, you're not told a story of how people suffered, you're told a story of how people

overcame the suffering, right, so it's the triumph of the human spirit but the important things for us is that that space that we call history..this is history what we're doing here, this is history, more important than what happens in the classroom, this is history, where people talk with each other and when we exchange and where this is our opportunity to debate, to ask questions, to clarify and to share with each other all the things that we all know because we all know about our history in spite of what the authorities try to do to us as part of our dehumanization. We are humans and we have parents and we have children and we have families and we have neighbours even though we suffered group areas, even though we have suffered through language being taken away, even though we have suffered in many way, we can tell stories in a way that holds on to our dignity and that is a way that shows that we care for people around us and that we, we have the authority over own story and we do not allow others to tell us who they think we are and that is important and so the question that was asked is one of the most important questions of our time and I can only answer it in a little bit of a way. You know, so I think, that was also the way that I tried to respond, to answer the question, obviously I am a critique of the way in which Prestwich place turned out, it's an unfinished, an unfinished story. The people who created the ossuary and the alliances that created that exhibition, that work is unfinished because there is a second stage of work that was meant to happen around Schiebe Street and Prestwich Street and Napier Street, there's supposed to be an exhibition that's created in that area so that everyone who goes into that building, everyone who enters that building, who lives in that, who chooses to live and work in that building knows that they operate in a place of shame, that they trample on the bones of the dead everyday and *so daai is n' plek van skaamte, skandel van*

daar bly (Please confirm the Afrikaans from (43:09 - 43:14) and it's something that we have to hold on to and so that those spaces are supposed to be filled with the histories of what and the violations that happened at that place because these histories of suffering that our people experienced, of enslavement and the beneficiation, you know how much we are learning about different parts of the world now of how the people benefited from slavery? I mean it's just amazing, sorry that I'm going on a bit long here chair, but I give you one example, *net een voorbeeld* (Afrikaans in 43:55). A few months ago the Department of Tax, somewhere or someone who works in the Department of Finance of the UK sent out a tweet to say that today we finished paying off the loan that the government of England took out when slavery came to an end in 1834. You know what that means and that tweet was removed, but do you know what that means? It is sickening to think about it, in 1834 when slavery came to an end in the West Indies, in the Cape, in Mauritius, the slave owners got compensated for their property taken away from them *ek se vir jou* (Afrikaans in 44:55), do you know what they did with their money? They invested it in banking, they invested it in insurance, when you go to the companies in South Africa and when you go to the board executives, founding date, what is the founding date?

Audience: 1834

Prof Rassool: 1834, it's not an accident, it's not an accident and so they have been able to...but the beautiful thing is in England *hulle mos kwaai met archives , jy viet,* (Afrikaans in 45:26-45:30), they've got an archive of the Compensation Commission, they can tell every family they've got money, they got paid out for the slaves and how much that money is worth today, it's amazing, the detail of that Compen..go online and

look at that Compensation Commission, it's serious work, it happened here as well. The TRC was not the first time that the question of reparations came up right. There was the previous time when the slave owners got compensated. So these are exciting issues because this is the way that we become a democracy when this becomes, when we become citizens through this kind of knowledge where our citizenship is not just our right to go and vote but our citizenship is about us grasping the responsibility of knowledge. (Clapping)

Follow-Up Question from Audience

Thank you Wandile. You know. It's a comment more than a question. And just two folds. On such a high note, you know, especially with the feedback that we just got from the two speakers, we can't leave this process hanging in the air Wandile, I mean seriously, I think you realize that and the rest of us all realize that. One thing I didn't touch on earlier was a comment made by Wendy and I think it's good that Ciraj is sitting in the chair because maybe you can shed light on iy. You know the fact that Section 41 of the National Heritage Resources Act is under review at the moment, those definitions about heritage objects, doesn't this present us with an opportunity to maybe tackle, I mean this is the first time that the NHR is going to be amended, so you know, while the opportunity presents itself especially while there is a public participation process run..well we assume that there is going to be one, you know, strike while the iron is hot, so to speak. That is my question, if there is maybe a coordinated that way we can tackle just that one, that one aspect of it because I think especially after Dr June's and your input after that comment was made I just thought it was more vital to raise that particular issue. Then 2nd is a comment on what Dr June said you know and which blew me

away, your grandmother was born in 1905 but we are now in 2018, you know historically it's not a long time especially if you equate it with just our colonial history from 1652 or 47or the other way or whaever but the first thing that went through my mind was the issue that academic institutions and museums sometimes hide behind is when there's issues of human remains is the fact that where must we find the descendants of these people, you know, this piece of human remains cannot have an archeological date, we have radiocarbon dated it to 300 years ago or 5000 whatever but it's impossible to find the next of kin so who do we give these bones back to and the comment that you made just actually blows that whole thing out of the water because I mean just take Krotoa, died in 1674, she had 5 kids, 5 kids documented, you know, she might have had 7 but multiply that, use that same formula of your calculation. Multiply that formula and if you say ok 100 years or the remains of the Prestwich place people, that 3000 bodies, you can essentially equate that to, what did you say, quarter of a million people

Dr June reponds: times it by, say I'm 100 age over, just a 100 years

Questioner: There we go. Just a hundred years

Dr June: (Inaudible 49:19 -49:22).Our family was a typical family. So you're looking at 3000, yeah, 300 000

Questioner response: 300 000

Dr June: There's more

Questioner responds: Yeah, you must add compound interest

Dr June: We're just looking at quantifying in order to get rid of this debate, this approach, it's another model that doesn't belong to our context. We're talking, yeah, of millions of people that are, who are affected in some way or the other by human remains that are not here. So that's the collective

Questioner: I think we're speaking the same language or we're thinking on the same level because you know, if you just take one descendant of one historical figure that we know about and there were many you know that the KhoiKhoi in 1700s amounted to 50 000 people more or less ok 1730 decimated a huge percentage of them but I mean if you're just...be conservative in your figures and do that same calculation you will arrive at 3.8 million people that Cape Town currently has as it's population, you know, give or take and so it just puts that whole notion of who the next of kin is, who are the descendants of these people etc, it blows it completely out of the water, you know it actually closes off a large part of the debate that we're constantly having..

Dr June: And it paralyzes..

Questioner: Absolutely. That is my comment Wandile

Audience Follow Up Question 2

Thank you so much for the fabulous presentations and thank you so much Wandile for organizing this event. I was wondering, the restitution of Saarah Baartman was mentioned several times and I was wondering from your point of view it is a success story from the point of the discussions with different descendants communities that were taking place during the negotiations process and afterwards and the second question is, of course Saarah Baartman was, Saarah Baartman human remains were in the shelf in

French Museums but next to her, there are many other human remains with similar stories with similar context and I was wondering why there was never a claim for other human remains and especially because the state invested huge amounts of money for the negotiation process during the 8 years many many people were doing research and it was a whole complicated process and during this time there was no claim for any other human remains with a similar story, same institutions, same people, same collection, etc.

Audience Follow Up Question 3

Thank you speakers, June and Ciraj, Zenzile, Wandile and everyone. My name is Kershan, and so I worked with June a little at the Centre for African Studies, so I am not ambitious to think that my questions or comments might get more responses also because I think they will in a way be problematic to force us to think about how we can think about this kind of question and its relations to the other issues for example I think June you mentioned once the land question and in a way I'm curious about the connections and ok I'll just list things that are needing to be part of the conversation for example you talk about Prestwich, City of Cape Town, neoliberal policy making, urban development, the Rockwell situation and these actors in pushing public settings, public land, the Philippi Horticultural Area campaign, so the farms that produce 80% of the vegetables that we eat in Cape Town under siege by developers to rezone farming land into commercial land so you can pave it over and then kill the aquifer that lives underneath Philippi so that you can have pavements right. So that is a similar kind of dispossession. I'm curious about, this is about dispossession and we're talking about the dead and then it's being continued like my discomfort in being photographed, you

know, just rapidly at the start of this gathering. Just click click, so much technology, it is important. Being archived as we're talking about the archive of dispossession, you know, and the simple things that need to be done updates within the invites for Iziko green stickers and red stickers so everyone can choose, you can say green if you want to be photographed on camera, you can say red if you don't. You have a choice, otherwise Iziko owns the new archive while we fight for the one they still own unethically so this is unethical. The photographing is unethical, it is, because you didn't ask me and so those questions of reparations, redistribution, the money cost, the quantity yeah I'm curious about land expropriation without compensation and nationalizing the dead without compensation to these institutions because why are the people who own the land now, the Karoo and wherever else, in my sense illegally, why are they getting paid like slave owners were paid and compensated..and they'll take..what they are doing they are inflating in what Philippi, they are inflating, speculating the price of the land so the government buys it back you know, R20 million more than it's worth so I know, I understand reparations about the soul I won't question but there is a money story, about money..to follow the money. I want to see UCT's campaign for the 1,2,3 million people in Bonteheuwel, Khayelitsha to say we want you in our universities, why over the last generations have we continued to work very hard to exclude you from being so close here and then to become the objects of the study, Khayelitsha, we all go to Khayelitsha, you know, we all go to Bonteheuwel. So those questions are important for me about yeah following the money and connecting it to the other questions of land and the dead and the dispossession it's kind of connected. And oh so an invitation to Iziko as well, there are some representatives here, it's an invitation to maybe engage with us younger

scholars to form small research units that can contribute towards, towards the Museum TRRC kind of thing so we can also work together to say, to cross these boundaries of academics who gatekeep their so-called assets so they're gonna want compensation, you know, in the Faculty of Health Sciences where I worked and I had to walk over the ancestors underneath and you know, these things were quite alive to tell me this place is bizarre and it is horrific. So that's in closing just commenting about these other connections and the urban neoliberal development thing because that's how Rockwell pushed, so as much as we can have song and dance and exhibit outside, they don't care, the Ruperts who own so much of things can have a transnational new conservation park across nations Zambia, South Africa, Namibia, you know, we can have a song and dance about the dead but they are making the new dead while still stolen. Clapping.

WK Closing Part: You know the research unit, the younger scholars to contribute towards such a process I think for me it does I think speak to the question of where to from here, the museum quo vadis, I think that we do need to make one or two comments on that. Now that we've had this discussion, where to from here? So we're gonna take the last question or comment.

Second Last question

So my name is (inaudible 58:07), I am from the US. I just have a simple question, I think Kershin introduced it a bit. It's very inconvenient, people were paid back for wrongs, why can people not be paid back for what they were affected for. (Clapping) I agree that reparations should be spiritual but what about the money? And then so secondly,

we cannot end here today, where are we going? We cannot leave this discussion in this room. Thank you.

Last Question

We live around the area so yeah ...Ciraj and Dr Bam, thank you very much, I think I'd like to thank Iziko as well after you came to the podium, I had an idea of what is going on here and I definitely agree that the conversation cannot stop here. We need to take this conversation to Bonteheuwel.

WK Closing Words

These discussions cannot just be confined in these walls. We need to take these discussions to where communities are. I think I'm gonna, we are just going to wrap up and then we...

Dr Bam-Hutchinson final words

Oh ok just very quickly, the Saarah Baartman question, I think it should only be a success story through the young girls here today and reparations to them, so otherwise it just becomes another exhibition, another academic discourse, another person gets promoted, you know, through her body, through her dismembered body and another violence. So that's the only way that success will come, it's through investment in the descendant communities...material.

Prof Rassool final words

Just to say, I mean. I have learnt from my colleagues, comrades as very important contributions. This campaign, this struggle, is also an international struggle. There are..we have been, in the last few weeks, in meetings in Windhoek, in Berlin, in...these are struggles they can't be contained in words. There is a process underway at the

moment, very important, the..when the Prime Minister of France a few months ago visited West Africa. He visited Benin. He made a promise, he made a very important statement to say that all the objects from different African societies that were removed from the African continent during colonial times have to be returned permanently or temporarily to the African continent and he appointed a commission of inquiry under the leadership of Bénédicte Savoy and Felwine Sarr to do..to make recommendations on what artefacts have to be returned and that is just one, one element of a process that is unfolding because the world as we know it is changing,it is changing and we are trying to work out how to live after colonialism. What kinds of museums, what kinds of, where..what should happen with what was taken away from people?

Credits:

Filmed by Mbali Mqeteba and Wandile Kasibe

Speakers for the first session:

Prof Ciraj Rassool

Dr June Bam-Hatchison

Institution:

Iziko Museums of South Africa

Department: Education and Public Programmes

**********Ends**********

Appendix Q

Dr Victoria Gibbon's email response to my application to access the University of Cape Town's Anatomy Collections and Records

"Dear Wandile,

The committee has taken a unanimous decision to deny your "Request to Access University of Cape Town's Anatomy Department Collections and Records".

The Collection advisory committee is guided by a set of criteria for how we make decisions on research applications. There are several aspects of the proposal that do fit this criteria. However, the main concern for the committee is your thesis is based on Museum collections: entitled "Museums and the construction of race" and the remainder of the collections you are using in your study are museums. We are not a museum, and the collection at UCT was not used as such past or present.

Another major concern was in regard to the data and information you are looking for from the catalogue, this has been already published and can be used from these sources for your research. I refer you to the body of work by Prof. Alan Morris, Prof. Andrew Smith, Prof. John Parkington. Prof Ciraj Rassool among many others.

Regards,

Victoria

Victoria Gibbon, PhD
Senior Lecturer
Biological Anthropologist
Department of Human Biology
University of Cape Town
Cape Town, South Africa

Disclaimer - University of Cape Town This e-mail is subject to UCT policies and e-mail disclaimer published on our website
at http://www.uct.ac.za/about/policies/emaildisclaimer/ or obtainable from +27 21 650 9111. If this e-mail is not related to the business of UCT, it is sent by the sender in an individual capacity. Please report security incidents or abuse via csirt@uct.ac.za"[803]

[803] Victoria Gibbon, Application to the UCT Collection (email) 18 August 2017

Appendix R

UCT Application form to study the Skeletal Collection housed in the Department of Human Biology

Application to study the UCT Skeletal Collection housed in the Department of Human Biology

Surname	KASIBE	Title	MR
First Name(s)	LWANDILE		
Occupation	Public Programmes Coordinator and PhD Candidate		
Institution	IZIKO South African Museum & UCT Student		
Department / School	Sociology		
Telephone number	021 481 3804 / 0728708966		
E-mail address	gwandile@gmail.com		
Local address in South Africa	13 Low Street, Alpha Flats Observatory 7925		
Local contact telephone number	SAME AS ABOVE		
Date on which you plan to commence the work	28 July 2017		
Date on which you expect to complete the work	25 August 2017		
Number of skeletons to study			

Qualifications		
Institution	Degree	Date Awarded
WALTER SISULU UNIVERSITY (BORDER TECHNIKON)	B-TECH in Fine ART	–
UCT	MFA	– 2006
WORLD HERITAGE (MA) AT WORK UNESCO	– MA	
LEICESTER UNIVERSITY	– MA in Museum Studies	– 2012

Purpose of study (Publication, Thesis, etc.)
DOCTORAL THESIS

Nature of the Study: *a brief (<2 pages) but detailed research protocol must accompany this application*, setting out in detail the sample required (population, sex, age), the purpose and nature of the work, any special techniques or procedures that will be used in carrying it out, and whether or not they might pose any potential risk to the specimens.
Curriculum Vitae: *please attach a copy of your CV with your application.*

Do you intend to photograph or radiograph any of the specimens?	
If so, for what purpose?	I would to take photographs of the Collection I will be working with to include/incorporate into my THESIS

Do you intend to do any destructive sampling?	No destructive sampling will be undertake
Number of individuals to sample?	N/A
Region of skeleton to target?	N/A
Amount of bone or teeth required for sampling?	N/A
If so, for what purpose and explain in detail the methodology?	

Applicant's signature: _____ Date: 9 July 2017

APPROVAL

Has the individual met all expectations of the committee?	
Did the application require permission by the Collections Research Committee?	
Comments	

Signed: ..... Date: .....
Curator

***Kindly note that each researcher to the collection must bring their own research equipment**

**** We request copies of all publications or theses stemming from the research done on the UCT Skeletal Collection**

APPENDIX S

UCT skeletons in the cupboard not a mistake, but evidence of a colonial crime against humanity, 18 October 2018

Although a PhD student at UCT with a thesis focus on “Museums and the Construction” tracing human remains in museums and universities, I was denied access to records and collections. In May 2017, I approached UCT Anatomy Department requesting to be granted access to records and human remains collections that were unethically collected for race ‘science’. I submitted a formal application to access information on 9 July 2017 and received a reply denying my request on 18 August 2017 from the curator of the collection, Dr Victoria Gibbon, as follows “The committee has taken a unanimous decision to deny your ‘Request to Access University of Cape Town’s Anatomy Department Collections and Records’”. The refusal was explained thus: “The main concern for the committee is that your thesis is based on Museum collections…and the remainder of the collections you are using in your study are museums. We are not a museum, and the collection at UCT was not used as such past or present.” In fact, my thesis includes both university and museum collections, and this was ignored. This is a decision that was imposed on my PhD research by an anonymous university committee, denying access to collections and suggesting I should consult secondary sources to answer my questions.

On 22 August 2017, I expressed my disappointment that the committee had taken a decision to deny me access, thus creating an ethos of exclusion that is in direct contravention of the freedom of information at the University. I discussed this matter

with my supervisor, Prof Xolela Mangcu who was also disappointed. After I had been denied access to the records and collections, I escalated the matter to the late Prof Bongani Mayosi on 21 May 2018 and whilst awaiting Mayosi's feedback on the development of my request, I heard the sad news of his passing, may his soul rest in peace.

In the afternoon of 11 October 2018, I watched with excitement as the Vernac News broke the news of the public disclosure of human remains which were unethically acquired by the University of Cape Town's Anatomy Department in the 1920s. These remains were acquired by UCT during a time of extreme oppression and dehumanization of black Africans in South Africa and globally. In 1921, the Second International Congress of Eugenics was held at the Museums of Natural History in New York, the first almost a decade earlier at the University of London in July 1912. These global eugenics congresses cemented the ongoing institutionalization of race 'science' which had a centuries-long history in the colonial Empires. Alan Morris highlights this, "the acquisition of Khoisan skulls can be traced at least as far back as August 1805 when Lichtenstein obtained the cranium of an unknown female Khoi who had been found dead in the veld. Other Khoisan skulls are known to have been part of early nineteenth century private collections, and both Blumenbach in Göttingen and Morton in Philadelphia listed 'Bushman' or 'Hottentot' specimens in their catalogues. By 1850, Khoisan specimens could be found in nearly all of the major European museums. Most of these skulls were donated by or purchased from travelers who had acquired them as curiosities during their visits to southern Africa." These collections of human remains supported colonial ideology which located indigenous Africans as the 'missing link'

between apes and modern men; the precursor to modern scientific racism where blacks are associated with monkeys and baboons, thus treated as sub-humans under apartheid.

In the early 1930s, the rise of anti-Semitism and medical experimentation on the 'undesired' body of the Jew created the genocide of the Holocaust in Nazi Germany. This also was no accident, as history reveals to us that there was a proliferation of eugenics groups including the Berlin Society of Racial Hygiene; the German Society of Racial Hygiene in Munich; the International Society of Racial Hygiene; the Austrian Society for the Study of the Science of population; the Czech Society for Eugenics; and the Hungarian Society for Racial Hygiene and Population Policy and many other eugenics and racial hygiene movements in North America and Europe.

These eugenics movements in the 'Global North' added to processes of racial strata through which the idea of a 'super race' and whiteness was constructed as a standard. Horrifyingly, these countries started to look within their own borders to identify populations who would be eradicated for ethnic cleansing and creating of the 'pure race'.

Whilst the colonial Empire was engaged in racial 'cleansing' in the Global North, and in the colonies, universities and museums sought human remains of indigenous Africans: people of Khoi-San and Nguni origin for purposes of race 'science' and examination to support eugenics theories. Collections of indigenous people's human remains were part of a much bigger colonial enterprise in which many museums, universities and

scientific institutions across the world were complicit, as observed by Alice L. Conklin "this greater presence of skulls among the peoples of Africa subtly echoed the evolutionary racial hierarchy presented in the Anthropology Gallery, in which Africans were implied to be the least developed of peoples."

The UCT Anatomy Department human remains collection was started under the stewardship of Robert Black Thomson in 1911, who received donations of skulls from social anthropologists such as Agnes Winifred Hoernle, who acquired human remains from what she "considered to be Hottentot graves" and others who were found exposed at the banks of the Orange River during expeditions in Namaqualand in 1912 and there were also other donators. Thomson studied these skeleton "following the racial typological approach of that time…", meaning he subscribed to the same colonial violence that fed to notions of black 'inferiority' and white 'supremacy', with a hierarchy of 'higher' and 'lower' races whose 'difference' would to be highlighted through the study of their anatomy. His successor, Mathew Robertson Drennan, arrived "at the Cape in 1913 to work as a rural general practitioner before succeeding R.B. Thomson as a professor of anatomy at the University of Cape Town in 1919." Dubow records that Drennan "was dourly contemptuous of the Bushmen he studied, regarded them as anatomical curiosities or living fossils", asserting that "the majority of the physical characters of the Bushman tend to lie towards the simian end of the human scale, and to this extent the Bushman is undoubtedly a member of one of the lowest of the human races." To Drennan, "the infantile characteristics of the Bushman should be compared favorably with Neanderthal forms rather than with the 'higher races' of modern man."

Drennan here perpetuates the Darwinist notion of the extinction of the first peoples across the world.

It is against this background that I wish to highlight the fact that for over two centuries, African ancestors have endured the degrading practice of racial 'science' that masqueraded as academic research. It is quite sad that the Vice Chancellor refers to this acquisition and storage of human remains at this haunted University as a 'mistake'. But how can it be a mistake when we have historical evidence that reveals to us that universities, museums and other scientific institutions deliberately and consciously acquired unethically collected human remains for racial 'science'. These people were either stolen from their graves by grave robbers, snatched at battle fields as spoils of war or acquired nefariously from people who were known in life. The justification for amassing the spoils of colonial conquest formed the basis upon which the 'original sin' was committed both in universities and museums. The complicated history between universities, museums and indigenous communities is tainted with these unsettling encounters as objects and mortal remains of these indigenous peoples are still in these institutions, and remain classified in a colonial context.

These deeds constitute what could be defined as crimes against humanity. In its history of establishment, UCT has silently been involved in this shameful past of constant trauma and pain. The truth behind the unspoken silences of the racialized dead has finally come out and as part of the university community, I want to propose that the university constitutes a Truth, Repatriation and Reparations Commission with an intention to fully disclose these human rights violations and what Stephen Jay Gould calls "the sins of science" committed under colonialism and apartheid. The Commission

must open a public discussion to look into the broader socio-medical questions towards decolonization and de-racialization of anatomical studies and ethics that underpin the practice of medicine. In the University's attempt to transform and decolonize research methodologies, it must reveal the provenance of the other unnamed individuals who are also languishing in the university's storage vault of the dead, undisclosed and these include human casts of people such as /Hanaku (Also Anako) whose body was cast in plaster during her visit to Cape Town c.1936. What are the socio-political, cultural, spiritual and ethical implications of unethically acquiring human bodies for race and forensic 'science'? And what does it really mean to acquire human bodies ethically in the African context? Who has the right to ask questions and access records pertaining to these individuals? Why did it take this long for the University to realize this painful past? This inquiry must be linked to other hidden pasts that still lie silent beneath the University, among others the mass graves that were uncovered on UCT Campus a few years back.

Appendix T

Formal Complaint letter for being denied access into the UCT Department of Human Biology collections and records

517 Sedgemoor
Claremont
Cape Town
7708

4 April 2019

University of Cape Town
Private Bag X3
Rondebosch 7701
South Africa

Dear VC Prof. Mamokgethi Phakeng

Re: Formal Complaint for being denied access into the University of Cape Town's Anatomy Department Collections and Records for PhD research

My name is Wandile Kasibe, I am currently in my last year of my PhD research in Sociology, with specific focus on the following topic, "Uncovering the Symbiotic Intersection between Museums and the Construction of Race Ideologies in South Africa".

Background to the study:

My thesis investigates the sociological ramifications of race construction and power relations in the institutionalization of colonial and apartheid rule, which has been entrenched through institutions of knowledge production such as universities and museums in South Africa and elsewhere in the world. It traces among other things the human remains collections that were unethically acquired by these aforementioned institutions, particularly museums to justify scientific racism. These collections include human remains of black African indigenous and native people whose mortal remains were either stolen from the graves, collected at battle fields or snatched from people who were known in life by colonial 'scientists'. Alice L. Conklin captures this presupposition in her assertion when she argues that, "this greater presence of skulls among the peoples of Africa subtly echoed the evolutionary racial hierarchy presented in the Anthropology Gallery, in which Africans were implied to be the least developed of peoples."

In his account, *The Reflection of the Collector*, Prof Alan Morris states that, "the acquisition of Khoisan skulls can be traced at least as far back as August 1805 when Lichtenstein obtained the cranium of an unknown female Khoi who had been found dead in the veld. Other Khoisan skulls are known to have been part of early nineteenth century private collections, and both Blumenbach in Göttingen and Morton in Philadelphia listed 'Bushman' or 'Hottentot' specimens in their catalogues. By 1850, Khoisan specimens could be found in nearly all of the major European museums. Most of these skulls were donated by or purchased from travellers who had acquired them as curiosities during their visits to southern Africa."

Denial of access:

On 9 July 2017, I submitted an application form to access this information and on 18 August 2017, I received the following response from Dr. Victoria Gibbon, the curator of this collection and senior lecturer.

"Dear Wandile,

The committee has taken a unanimous decision to deny your "Request to Access University of Cape Town's Anatomy Department Collections and Records".

The Collection advisory committee is guided by a set of criteria for how we make decisions on research applications. There are several aspects of the proposal that do fit this criteria. However, the main concern for the committee is your thesis is based on Museum collections: entitled "Museums and the construction of race" and the remainder of the collections you are using in your study are museums. We are not a museum, and the collection at UCT was not used as such past or present.

Another major concern was in regard to the data and information you are looking for from the catalogue, this has been already published and can be used from these sources for your research. I refer you to the body of work by Prof. Alan Morris, Prof. Andrew Smith, Prof. John Parkington. Prof Ciraj Rassool among many others.

Regards,

Victoria"

Please also note that after I had been denied access to the records and collections, I escalated the matter to the late Prof Bongani Mayosi on 21 May 2018 and whilst awaiting Mayosi's feedback on the development of my request, I heard the sad news of his passing, may his soul rest in peace.

Firstly, the reasons for which I am denied access to primary information are problematic and seek to discourage me from studying the records pertaining to the individuals Africans whose mortal remains are held in the storage vault of the University. This denial has negatively affected my research timetable and thesis content.

Secondly, Dr. Gibbon is not telling the truth for there are approximately 70 human remains in her collections that were used for race science and the refusal of the committee constitutes the a serious violation of right of access to information.

Thirdly, Dr. Gibbon knows that what she and the committee are doing is not in line with the ethos of the University and I do not accept the referral to secondary sources such as: Prof. Alan Morris, Prof. Andrew Smith, Prof. John Parkington and Prof. Ciraj Rassool among many others.

What right does the committee have to refer me to secondary sources when I want to study primary sources and raise different questions?

Fourthly, the decision of the committee raises many questions: who has access to information? Why is it that only certain people have access to information about our African ancestors? Why am I being cajoled to use secondary sources in my PhD study?

Five, I would like to request the names of the committee members who made such a decision.

Finally, it surprises and excites me at the same time that on 11 October 2018 the very same information that I sought access to was made known to the public. I addressed some of these concerns in the article I wrote which I am sure you have

ready: https://www.news.uct.ac.za/article/-2018-10-18-uct-skeletons-in-the-cupboard-not-a-mistake-but-evidence-of-a-colonial-crime-against-humanity

I would like to understand as to why was I denied access to information that Gibbon was herself studying and will soon be publishing on?

I would also like Gibbon and the committee to be investigated and formally apologize to me for their conduct.

Further to this, I would like to arrange a meeting with you to discuss this matter further.

I hope this request will reach for most favourable attention

I am looking forward to hearing from you

Sincerely Yours

Wandile Kasibe

Mobile: 072 8708966

Email: gwandile@gmail.com

END

Appendix U

Letter written to John Hewitt by Aleš Hrdlička, the then director of the Smithsonian through his secretary, dated December 16, 1910

Enclosure.

Return to

December 16, 1910.

Dr. John Hewitt,
Director, Albany Museum,
Grahamstown, Cape Colony,
South Africa.

Dear Sir:

Replying to your letter of November 7, I beg to say that the United States National Museum will be pleased to make the proposed exchange of skulls and skeletons with the Albany Museum. Our Department of Anthropology can use to advantage as many Kaffir skulls and skeletons as can be spared, and on the arrival of your shipment it will give me much pleasure to direct that a suitable equivalent in skulls of American Indians be selected and shipped to the Albany Museum.

We have in our collections a considerable number of ancient skulls from Peru, well identified as to period, locality and tribe, and it is thought that a series of these would be acceptable to you. We could also spare a few skulls of the ancient Pueblos and Mound-builders.

The Peruvian crania, as well as the others which I have mentioned, present many grades of artificial deformation, which makes them especially desirable for the purposes of exhibition and comparison. Most of them come from very old graves, and lack some of the teeth and even the lower jaws, but otherwise they are in very good condition.

In case of a larger exchange, we could include a few special crania, showing characteristic wounds by Pre-Columbian Indian weapons, as well as one or two with the rare "Inca bone".

The curator of Physical Anthropology estimates that a fair rate of exchange would be a skull for a skull - in cases where crania alone are concerned; and two to three American skulls for each Kaffir skeleton according to the completeness and condition of the latter.

I may also say that this Museum is in a position to furnish first class life-size plaster of Paris busts of modern Indians, and if you would like to have some of these in exchange, we shall be pleased to supply them on the basis of one bust for one skeleton or two crania.

ASSION 52532

REGISTRAR'S FILE
Returns to Registrar

Dr. John Hewitt. 3.

If these conditions are satisfactory to you, I would ask that you will be so good as to make your shipment as soon as practicable, notifying me at the same time, as definitely as possible, what you desire in return. As soon as your wishes are known, there will be no delay in selecting the specimens for you.

Any shipment you may make should be forwarded by steamer freight to New York City, and should be plainly marked "Care of the Collector of Customs" at that port. I enclose some printed labels which can be attached to the boxes. The specimens should be billed as "curios" or "natural history specimens".

Very respectfully yours,

Assistant Secretary
in charge of National Museum.

APPENDIX V

Aleš Hrdlička's follow up Letter written on April, 14, 1911 to thank Dr. John Hewitt for shipping the five skeletons for the Smithsonian accession number: 52532

April 14, 1911.

Dr. John Hewitt,
Director, Albany Museum,
Grahamstown, Cape Colony,
South Africa.

Dear Sir:

I beg to acknowledge with thanks the receipt from the Albany Museum of the five Kaffir skeletons from Port Alfred, mentioned in your letter of January 23, and in exchange for them I take pleasure in announcing the transmittal, through the Smithsonian Bureau of International Exchanges, of the fifteen human skulls enumerated on the enclosed invoice.

Referring to your inquiry as to whether any additional Kaffir skeletons are desired, I would say that we shall be pleased to receive any others of either sex up to a total of twenty of each. In return, plaster busts of Indians can be furnished at the rate of one for each skeleton. These busts, which have been prepared with the greatest care, represent

(Accession 52532)
Sm.

characteristic types of Indians, but they are unpainted.

We could also furnish, if desired, additional specimens of deformed Peruvian skulls, and some Indian bones showing platycnemy, platymery, humeri with perforations of the fossa, etc. We could also spare some specimens of Pueblo pottery and baskets.

Regarding your inquiry as to whether we have any material from the aborigines of the Philippine Islands, especially the Negritos, which could be furnished in exchange, I regret to say that we have nothing of this kind available for the purpose.

Trusting that the present shipment will reach you safely and prove to be a satisfactory equ alent for the five Kaffir skeletons, I am,

Very truly yours,

R. RATHBUN
Assistant Secretary
in charge of National Museum.

Appendix W
A Letter to Minister Nathi Mthethwa about the Repatriation of Human Remains

D13 Beaver Street
Westbank, Kuilsriver
7580
22 June 2018

Honourable Minister Nathi Mthethwa
Private Bag X 899
PRETORIA
0001
Tel: +27 (12) 441 3000
Fax: +27 (12) 440 4485
Email: minister@dac.gov.za

Subject: Repatriation of South African Human Remains in Museums Worldwide: towards a Museum Truth and Repatriations Commission

Dear Honourable Minister Mthethwa

I pen this letter not knowing if it will ever reach your attention Hon Minister, but the bones of our ancestors that sent me said I must do it in any case.

Early in 2018, I visited the United States to track the human remains of South Africans who had been shipped out of South Africa, with many stolen from their graves by race 'scientists' and grave robbers for purposes of race "science". I arrived at the 'heart' of the unforgiving cold of the Northern winter and was welcomed by generous, warm and loving American and African Diaspora families. In my brief stay, I could only visit three museums (The Smithsonian Institution in Washington DC, Penn Museum in Philadelphia and the Museum of Natural History in New York). I found that more than fifty mortal remains of South Africans are held by these museums, waiting for a day when they can be repatriated back to their home soil.

The human remains of our ancestors who were collected and arrived in the United States and Europe from the 1850s, with others as recent as 1911. For more than a century they have been subjected to 'scientific' studies, including the extraction of human DNA, which requires them to be broken and in fact, violated by the hands of European men and women of 'science'. Europeans colonized Africa, committing crimes against humanity and now their descendants continue the violations uninterrupted. How can we be truly free if our ancestors are not free, and held hostage on foreign soil? How can our nation be at peace when the people who fought for our freedom are locked in the laboratory rooms of museums, anatomy departments of universities and other scientific institutions? How can we allow this cruelty to continue in the name of 'science'?

At the Smithsonian Institution, there are five individuals **[see attached photographs]** who were stolen from their graves at Port Alfred prison in the Eastern Cape and after having been dug up they were sent to the Albany Museum in Grahamstown to be received by John Hewitt, the then director of the museum. In 1910 Hewitt wrote a letter to the Smithsonian requesting human remains of indigenous people from South America and in exchange he would ship over five skeletons of African individuals to the

Smithsonian. In a letter dated 8 February 1911, Hewitt wrote to Aleš Hrdlička, the then Director of the Smithsonian Museum of Natural History:

> "Dear Sir, I am sending off tomorrow one box containing five Kaffir skeletons. These were dug up at Pt. Alfred a year or two ago and are the remains of convicts…"

In March 1911, five individuals were shipped out of South Africa and in exchange Hewitt received 15 Peruvian heads from the Smithsonian, in what was called a "Skull for a Skull" trade deal. On April 14 1911, Hrdlička wrote back to Hewitt, acknowledging receipt of the skulls:

> "I beg to acknowledge with thanks the receipt from the Albany Museum of the five Kaffir skeletons from Port Alfred, mentioned in your letter of January 23, and in exchange for them I take pleasure in announcing the transmittal, through Smithsonian Bureau of International Exchange of the fifteen human skulls enumerated on the enclosed invoice."

These five individuals are still at the Smithsonian to this day, I saw them with my own eyes and took photographs as evidence of what I saw. I was overwhelmed with emotions when these individuals were brought to me in plastic bags and white boxes on the solid, cold metal trays of the anthropology department of the Smithsonian, because I fully understand the circumstances under which they were removed from their resting place and sent overseas to be used to justify the dehumanization of black people as a race. For one hundred and seven years, they waited in those white boxes, plastic bags and storage vaults of the museum, as prisoners of race 'science'. On the day of my visit, when my eyes were locked with their eyeless sockets, I could see that they were looking at me and that they were saying something. I could not understand what the bones were telling me, but I could sense in me that they were begging me to take them with me on my return to South Africa. I felt bad that I could not grant the wish of these worthy ancestors, Hon Minister, because I did not have the power to do so. But I also could feel deep in me that the bones were saying something else to me, perhaps they were saying go to Minister Mthethwa, and tell Honourable Minister we are prisoners of a now discredited race science kept in boxes to be handled and violated against our will. It's as if they were saying to me go to the King of amaXhosa jikelele, Mpendulo Zwelonke Sigcawu (Aah Zwelonke), and tell him "we are his people and we have been locked here in this dark place for one hundred and seven years and we want to be brought back home'". I believe that they want to return to the hills, valleys and sand dunes of the Southern plains; to smell the fragrance of the fires and fynbos of Africa from where they were stolen. It is as if they were saying you must hurry, make haste to King Goodwill Zwelithini kaBhekuzulu, the reigning King of the Zulu nation, isilo samabandla and say to him his forgotten warriors are here languishing on foreign soil, and their souls have not rested, waiting for the day when they can return home.

At the Museum of Natural History in New York, there are approximately eighteen heads of the Zulus who had been collected by the notorious Felix von Luschan, an Austrian, archaeologist, anthropologist, explorer and doctor who "was also a member of the German Society for Racial Hygiene. Over the span of many years, von Luschan built up two large collections containing thousands of specimens: one for the Berlin museum and one in his own private collection. Both collections contained skulls and skeletons of Namibians that had been shipped from Africa to Berlin during the German colonial

period." And "these desecrated remains were used extensively in pseudo-scientific experiments to support racist theories that speciously claimed that African races were inferior to the German people". This is the same von Luschan, Hon Minister, who we hear from Martin Legassick and Ciraj Rassool's work, "Skeleton in the Cupboard" had ordered bones of indigenous old woman who had not died yet in the pursuit for race 'science' in South Africa.

At the Pennsylvania Museum in Philadelphia **[see attached photograph]**, there are approximately four skulls of South Africans and hundreds of Africans, who had been collected by another race 'scientist', Samuel George Morton, who in his lifetime had collected thousands of human skulls from all over the world for race 'science'.

We must not forget that also in South Africa, there are many museums and universities that have hundreds of unethically collected human remains, and that they have restrictive access policies both for communities and researchers, but for the purpose of this letter I would like to appeal to you to help return those remains of our people who are on foreign soil.

As a concerned South African citizen, I appeal to you Hon Minister, to utilize your influence and power to help initiate a discussion with the aforementioned institutions in the United States (Smithsonian, The Penn and the Museum of Natural History), who are open to negotiate with South Africa on this matter.

This call, is part of restoring the dignity of our nation among the family of nations. It's an attempt to free our ancestors who are still prisoners of race "science" on foreign soil. It's a realization that our national pride is tied up with the freedom of our forebears, and as long as they are still prisoners, locked in modernized dungeons of museums, universities and scientific institutions, we are not free.

I hope this request will reach your most favourable attention

I am looking forward to hearing from you

Regards

Wandile Kasibe

PhD Candidate in Sociology, UCT, and Chevening Scholar

Email: gwandile@gmail.com

APPENDIX B

The photograph of Samuel George Morton's Collection at the Pennsylvania Museum in Philadelphia, Image taken by Wandile Kasibe

The close up photo of some of Samuel George Morton's Collection at the Pennsylvania Museum in Philadelphia, Image taken by Wandile Kasibe

WK.

Appendix X

A Response letter from the National Department of Arts and Culture

arts & culture
Department:
Arts and Culture
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

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PRIVATE BAG X9015 CAPE TOWN 8000 SOUTH AFRICA T: +27 21 465 5620 F: +27 21 465 3624
www.dac.gov.za

Mr Wandile Kasibe

E-mail: gwandile@gmail.com

Dear Mr Kasibe

REPATRIATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN HUMAN REMAINS IN MUSEUMS WORLDWIDE: TOWARDS A MUSEUM TRUTH, REPATRIATIONS AND REPARATIONS COMMISSION

Your letter dated 10 July in the above regard has reference.

The South African Government is constantly inundated with requests to repatriate human remains of South Africans in other countries. Most of these requests cannot be granted because of capacity and financial resources challenges, but most importantly because of an absence of national policy. For this reason, the Department of Arts and Culture has initiated the process of developing a national policy that will provide standardized guidelines on the repatriation of human remains. It is envisaged that the development of the policy will be finalized by the end of March 2019.

I also want to bring to your attention the fact that there are many implications to the repatriation of human remains. Practically, there will have to be formal government to government bilateral discussions and administrative processes. It will also involve technical processes of identification, location and engagement of possible descendents guided by a panel of experts and a steering committee of relevant stakeholders. The actual repatriation and reburial also becomes highly ceremonial requiring detailed prior logistical planning and preparation.

The Department has, in 2012, repatriated the remains of a KhoiSan couple, Klaas and Trooi Pienaar. The Pienaars were stolen from their graves near Kuruman by an Austrian Antropologist, Dr Rudolph Pőch, in the early 20th century. The remains of the Pienaars were taken to Austria and kept in a museum where racial studies were done on them. It took a lot of negotiation with the Austrian Government to bring the Pienaars back to South Africa. These negotiations were done for a number of years. Once the negotiations were completed, permits were needed from Austria as well as from South Africa to bring the remains back. This took a couple of months.

REPATRIATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN HUMAN REMAINS IN MUSEUMS WORLDWIDE: TOWARDS A MUSEUM TRUTH, REPATRIATIONS AND REPARATIONS COMMISSION

As you can see from this, the repatriation of human remains can take a number of years to be completed.

As the remains you are writing about were indeed collected unethically, it may be likely that the view of the South African government will be that they should come back to South Africa and be reburied. However, this would ultimately be a high level decision. I will therefore bring the matter to the attention of the Minister of Arts and Culture for consideration.

Please do not hesitate to contact Ms Reinette Stander at e-mail: reinettes@dac.gov.za, or telephone at 083 469 2931, should you have any queries.

Warm regards,

MR VUSITHEMBA NDIMA
DEPUTY DIRECTOR-GENERAL: HERITAGE PROMOTION AND PRESERVATION
DATE: 06/08/2018

Appendix Y

Transcription of the Interview taken place between Wandile Kasibe and David Hunt conducted on 9 February 2018 at the Smithsonian Institution

W: OK great, ok great…today is the 09th, , today is 09th of February 2018. I am in an interview with Dave and we are.. we'll be talking about the South African what..remains or the skeletons, 5 of them but will just get basic questions about the information that's pertaining to them. So jah, I just wanted to check Dave. I mean we have already established where the individuals were from like the geographical location. We know they were basically brought from Port Alfred and they were convicts. We saw the documents and I think all of them are males, if I'm correct, all of them are males but there's just maybe one or two questions that I have also been trying to, you know, to understand, as to: What would you say were the age groups of these individuals, about five of them and I know that yesterday you did take me through some of the points that could lead to..or that could give a sense of how old they were when they died and what would you also say that was then was the condition when they died or if there is anything that could us a sense of what they died of and whether, you know, they were exhumed, , or they were, you know …What should we be looking for to, you know, to understand those kinds of things?

D: These individuals from what we see here, there is that one that is an adolescent, identified as an adolescent. The epiphyseal plates weren't fully closed so that would put the individuals as being late teens maybe not quite into the 20s. Then there was that other one that we were looking at, can't remember which one it was offhand that was

very, you know, very young adult, early twenties, and so there's that one but then looking at this one here number 263200, they also don't show a lot of arthritic changes so they were young adults and their tooth were in such that, it's not extreme like you would expect and you don't have lost teeth. There was one individual who was loosing their teeth but I am not sure if I remember 198 because there's some abscesses that may be more due to that they had different types of foods and they had more sugar in it, so their teeth are dying from abscesses from and it has more (inaudible 3:21) but one of these individuals are old old individuals and then all of them have, as we were talking the other day, all of them have a similar colouration to them, so they were in soil that was very similar to one another, so they may have been buried in a similar area. There's number 200 that we have, this one here has the darkest colour we have to it, so it may have been in a slightly more area that had a little more humus, a little bit more plant materials that was in the ground that were breaking down and then also I think it had more erosion, or taphonomic change to it than I have see on the others. There was that one we were looking at, 96/97, which we had earlier that also shows this erosion, this cathonomic change that's pretty indicative of them being buried and that they were buried in a soil that was..that had some acidity to it and that would be what you see here to it, this dark colouration, when plants are breaking down, you get more acids in the soil, so this is something that you see in this individual here.

W: So you would say that these were basically dug out when they, you know, when they were…

D: Well either..if they were dug out..they could have been dug ….burials and so they dug up...the bones and put other bodies to be buried or were they planning ahead in

look at that they were more into digging up these now I don't know, it's something that you might find in records but ..so you don't know whether they were intentionally burying with the idea that they were going to dig up again or whether it was just a matter of that they ran out space so they dug them up and that's how they got, say, turned over to the museums, because here they have these bones so...

W: and John Hewitt who was a director then..you know...

D: ..yeah would have said and he had a mature role to take these and then that's how he had...maybe he had enough of them and that's why he contacted Helichka? here at the...and the other folks and said "I have these and would like to have some for our museums some other things that would be representative of other parts of the world so that we could exchange these...one for the other. Such as you have an RX sessions?

W: And then Dave, when they got here. What from the 1911 until today, so what has been, you know, done on the bones, were there studies or anything like that, what have they been used for?

D: Oh, all sorts of different things, they would have been used for in Helichka's period, they would have been compared to the African American population..

W: Oh I see

D: ..in the United States at the time. Because here are people that one, we know where they are from whereas with the historic blacks that we have in the United States, many of them don't know their background and so some of this may have also been used as a means to say we understand the different population groups in Africa to understand possibly or where we know we have records of course of knowing where people were being picked up during the slavery periods and so we know that most of our African

American populations are from West Africa or western..west West Africa like you think of Nigeria.

W: Jah jah

D: ..But some people came from Angola and some were coming from South Africa .

W: And so that would be their roots if they…?

D: So..the skeletal morphology can give some evidence and some understanding particularly in the cranium. The shape of the cranium is often indicative of different population groups and these ones here, from my experience of seeing West African, East African, South African. These have more of the South African form of being these broader shapes and which is even more obvious in Khoi San because Khoi San have this long linear head. This one here is like probably one of the very…

W: That is 263196

D: ..is very indicative of what you will see in Khoi San …

W. Because that's what I was, you know, because I looked at the shape of the…yesterday and I thought that it was a female so…

D: But having these examples of these individuals and knowing where they come from, I mean, that's one of the biggest assets, is that you know exactly where they come from and the time period and all that. So now we now have sort of a reference. Now for us or for anyone to have a reference sample of 40 or 50 would be better than 5.

W: yeah …

D: ..But that's the way it is with any type of collecting. You don't just collect one bird and say "oh this represents all birds you know. (laughter)..and you know…and different birds like different birds are the same bird but they are slightly different in different parts of

Africa when you think about those from North West Africa and those from South East Africa. They may be the same jay or something like that but their feather colours is different. They have more whiskers or the beak is long or short and that is why we see these (inaudible 09:52). These people are really an excellent way of being able to understand and….

W: Like where they come from…

D: There's been samples, there's been sampling down for isotopic samples for analysis and for genetic analysis that have been done and these have been used in the 1940s and 50s for setting up the standards for understanding the different population groups and what the features are going to be because African populations have very, the males have very narrow sciatic notches and that is something that you see in the African American populations too but not to the same extent because they also have mixed with whites.

W: Yeah yeah, so you don't find that in other groups….?

D. Well you see, African populations, certainly, the genetic features are there. The pelvices are narrow or smaller shape both in males and in females and that is something to know. Because when you start looking at the pelvices as being your identifier for sex, you have to adjust for what population group you might be working with.

W: And maybe one last question. So what's there…I know that, you know, many museums across the world, even back home and so on, and people are, you know, looking into the future of this research of these remains. So what is the, you know, going forward, what is the…..so what lies ahead with collections such as these likes as a

museum or I don't know, is there any plan regarding the..or will there be any more research done on the collections?

D: Oh the collection is here as a reference, we can use it as far as there's an idea of like a library, sometimes people get very interested in particular aspects of those books are all necessary but then for 10 years they may seat on the shelves and nobody is looking at them because they are not interested in looking at Charles Dickens and they want to see (inaudible 12:24 followed by laughter) and also so the same thing as this. We have collections here that have been here for nearly 30 years and some of them have not been used to a high potential but they are there and when somebody all of a sudden starts being interested in particular aspects of something that's been found archaeologically or new finds then they can go back just as we have had, there's a Masonian installation and panel and it's just been in the last three years that they found some archaeological materials that they are very interested in and now that they are crawling all over the panel materials they are happy (laughter) and, you know, for a decade before that I had not seen a person coming to look at that but now the everybody..there's a focus so now these people and anyone of the others from Africa because of the questions now on DNA and getting more DNA is less costly to get DNA from bones. It may be that there's going to be a survey throughout our collections, to other museums as well, to get samples of the bones, that can be used as part of that base for understanding the dissemination and movement of people by DNA chromosomes, DNA.

W: And then the ones that were exchanged for these, are there any attempts from the museum to get those back and I believe that the 5 individuals that we've looked at were

basically exchanged for, you know, other remains that were sent from here. What are the, are there any attempts to get those back and maybe just one last question. What's the position, I mean you don't need to answer this if it's not within your jurisdiction, what's the museums' policy on the question of repatriation? For example things that are, if somebody is interested in getting these back, what would be the response of the museum.

D: Well, the museum will always looks at any requests for them. Our policy has always been that there are named individuals

W: …There must be names

D: Yeah. It is the most important or a particular culture group and that's what we are with our repatriation of our 50 United States, the law that we have for repatriation. A named individual of course, has always been our policy but a tribal group or a clan group is the one who needs to be the one who would be making the request because then it is a biological reality of a relationship versus a political or a geopolitical. Just to have a country say, well they want X back well, for our stand..

W: Because it has no basis?

D: Yes because it has very little basis because political rule is going to change, you know there's change in clans with leaders and stuff like that and some have different opinions about it. So there is some of that too but on the whole we are looking at the fact that we want to not, not listen to people, and there maybe some particular reasons or importance to that. So we, and I'm saying we in the sense that, I am only a very small cog in that wheel when it really comes to being a departmental anthropology

department and then even more so up to the director of the museum and the secretariat of the institution to make those decisions.

W: And then, the ones that are in South Africa. What's there…Is there any interest in maybe establishing whether in the future they might be returned back here or is there any plan or….

D: we've only had a situation where the museum is closing ..

W: Oh yeah yeah

D: …that we would then want to, hopefully, retrieve back something that had come in exchange because they originated from here.

W: From here?

D: and often..

W: they wouldn't give it to anybody if say they close in South Africa and they give it to another museum?

D: If they give it to another museum, we just want to track so we know where it is going to. There would be records often you know, say they are opening a museum or closes and so all their materials go to Waterstone, their anthropology department there, I mean I'm just making an example and so if that was the case then at least there would be records to transfer from there to there. We in the repatriation dealings, materials are noted here that they have been transferred to somewhere else and it is a requirement when a native group has asked for remains and we are reporting to them what we have and to also report to them where things that were here that were transferred and where they now are. It's not our responsibility to track them down and get them returned but we just notify where people… where the tribal group can contact and say there are one

or two or three items or individuals that you have that were transferred and we would like to have everything put back together again and sent to be buried and then the..some museums have dealt with that well, some of them have not. There are some of the British museums that have holdings that come from Australia…whatever..there's been a lot of…. And like here in the United States, things that are governmentally controlled or governmentally funded are or under some sort of government grants, protection or something like that. They are more responsible or have more responsibility because of the government law than a private institution, so private museums or private institutions, they don't have that same constraint or pressure on them saying that they have to follow these laws that have been set up by the United States government for repatriation purposes.

W: So they can basically decide on their own without following the…?

D: Now they may follow the spirit of the law and follow those kinds of things but but they are not pressured by law under the same kind of regulations as those that are governmentally funded.

W: I think that's enough for me Dave, just to also say back in South Africa, I mean we go through more or less the same with the human remains that were basically taken from Namibia and a scholar, there was a conference not so long ago, in fact it's a filmed conference that I filmed and it was basically around the management of human remains and someone from the University of Namibia then presented a paper and then he made reference to the fact that during the occupation of Namibia by the apartheid South Africa, there were skulls or materials that was taken from Namibia and as we speak it's actually in the storage vaults of Iziko Museums of South Africa. So and the challenge

has been that, the policies, back in Namibia there is no national policy for example when these are returned there, there is no framework to deal with these. That's what he said at the time but I don't know if that's still the situation now. So there are also those similar challenges when it comes to the laws of one country and the laws of another country whether there's any what you call alignment when it comes to dealing with the issues of repatriations or remains or any other issue that has do with crossing the borders and the museum is dealing with that at the moment, the museum where I am also based. And of course the university, which is the University of Cape Town, which also has collections that were also used in their, what you call, theatres to study certain race groups back home and that was really part and parcel of a much bigger race project back home.

It was not just a…there was an element of crafting race and also finding certain..finding a rationale to why certain things had to be done the way they had been done. And when it then came to 1948 which was basically the year when apartheid was formally constitutionalized, put into law formally 1948, but you know, this doesn't mean that it had not started before that. It had already started when people were forcefully removed in 1913 through the Native Land Act of 1913 which was the act that was then passed to push all Black people away from the centre and then also to prepare settlements for whites and basically you'd move black people away from productive areas and then whites would come in and settle there. Parts of those processes were engineered, and of course the knowledge was extracted from the work that was done in museums and universities because the, evidence was provided and the rationale that blacks were basically subhumans. It was extracted from the information that was studied on them

and then certain policies were then put in place and now people are trying to understand how could we then possibly find a way of looking into some of these practices within museums today and people are also trying to understand, I'm talking about back home now, whether or not museums should have human remains. That was the question that our people have asked. And especially remains that were collected unethically, whether those should actually remain in museums and what should happen with them. These are some of the questions that we are dealing with back home and there've been, I think about a couple of conferences that have been organized to basically try and answer some of these questions and there's also a book that was written. I don't know if you know Ciraj Rassool and Martin Legassick, they wrote a book entitled 'Skeletons in the cupboard', where they basically uncover some of these and the interwovenness of some of these with race-making processes and how then should we then look at the role of museums in this century and beyond and whether or not there's a way that we could find a space within which some of these issues could be interrogated or looked into perhaps in a different way in our attempt to reshape the role of museums going forward. And of course one would have to go back in order to go forward. You'll have to go as far back as when the museum was started and whether or not there were, there are traces of this practice from when it was built and how has that practice evolved or developed or over time and where is the museum today.

So with the Iziko Museums of South Africa, we have been able to basically kind of like track those down and of course this is a very long..big area of scholarly engagement which does not just implicate the museum as an institution but it implicates all sorts of other institutions from Southern Africa for example, Namibia, Botswana and other

countries and there are also remains from Australia which were brought to South Africa because South Africa was looked, at the time as, what do you call the...and people they use terms such as ‘it was the capital city of racism’, that’s where racism was basically made tangible.And of course there are certain parallels with what was happening in South Africa and what was happening here in the US and what had happened in Namibia.

So these then became the points where people can actually trace certain practices and now it’s starting to spread out to other parts of the world. So I thought that I should just bring that in because there are certain questions that people, back in South Africa, are rasing now especially looking into the role of institutions such as the museums and where museums should actually go and what are the responsibilities of museums in trying to get people to talk about some these questions and maybe posing different questions in how we build societies going forward. So I’m linking all of this to say that, even back home, there are remains that come from all over the world and there are questions that are being posed in connection to those remains: whether or not they should be there and how they were collected, who was involved and whether they should still be in those collections. So..and these are questions that we don’t have simple answers to because sometimes you don't have people to, who you can really track down and say this is the person and other people they come and raise certain questions and we can’t because you have to first prove that this person is the person who is related to this. So yeah I thought that I should raise that because the museum is caught up in that and I’m also trying to understand how I could possibly, maybe, be part and parcel of that conversation when I go back home and how I could contribute to

some of those questions that people are raising. And how perhaps my doctoral thesis could also maybe help understand some of the issues that we're trying to deal with because at some point, it gets to a point where it becomes an emotive issue when you talk about those who are dead and those who are no more and how do we then begin to find a way of dealing with the sensitivities attached to the question of human remains in the context where, I don't know about other contexts, but where I come from it has that degree of sentimentalization.

There's too much sentiments attached to the question of the ancestors and especially in a country that is trying also to restore its dignity and people restoring their own nationhood and dignity and coming from a past that was divided with all the practices that had been done on a certain particular race group and people are coming out of that to say that 'with a new country now, we are in a process of restoring our dignity and also reclaiming back our humanity', and those kinds of questions are being thrown back to the museum, universities and other institutions of sciences to say that how do we find a space where these institutions can work together to add value to that process of renewal of a nation or renewal of a people. So museums are caught up in that process at the moment and I don't know how it will pan out or turn out but it's something that is still basically unfolding.

And at some point, they were saying the other day, they had to take down an exhibition of human casts which were basically made from the Khoi and the San who were still alive, so the exhibition, they started that project in 1906 and then in the 1960s, they

exhibited those casts as part of tribing people and then people were unhappy that it was taken down, the complete exhibition now. The exhibition is closed down, I think it closed on the 15th of September last year. So now they are trying to imagine what will happen in that space in the absence of content there, what should happen and again the questions are being posed to say that don't repeat the mistakes of the past and so community engagements now have become the main driver because then it is then the people who are saying that we need to become part and parcel of knowledge production because previously we were not part and parcel of those. So now the museum is trying to shift how it deals with communities to say that yes there were mistakes but this time around we will be willing to actually open the space so that communities actually become part and parcel of how they imagine the museum going forward especially when it comes to issues that are pertaning to, that pertain to them. So I thought that I should just raise that, I don't know if you maybe one last word you want to say.

D: Well, as myself from the beginning of my training, we always saw our collections as being representatives of populations of the world, never with the idea that one group or certain features or whatever or were prominent as indicators of being better or less than all of the features because we were also always cognizant of the fact by my Professors were saying they used to look at brain size as being an indicator of knowledge and education which of course we know is false and you have all these different features ectera of the shape of the brow: was it low, was it high and stuff like that which also…These are genetic features, those genetic features, the features that we still can

utilize some observations that people make but use it in a new light. In the sense of these are the particular aspects of a particular tribe group, clan group, whatever and then my forensic work that I do, the police still need to know some idea of who they're going to look for and is it racist to say that this person is probably of black heritage or white heritage or Hispanic heritage.

Maybe 30 years from now, they'll say..that was..let's start apologizing and that's racist but you still have to have some way of being able to put people into a certain category but it's not a category of whether they are better or worse. It's a category of population group. You know, you and I are pretty separate from one another in the sense of our genetics and so skeletally we are going to look different too but that's going to be a great thing if you and I were driving in the car and we went into the lake and two years later they are digging out, they can tell you and they can tell me from the skeletal because we are going to have genetic differences and having collections that represent different population groups, gives us more of an opportunity to be able to be accurate in our determinations. So I fully understand that in the 20 years that we've had, 20 some years that we have had of the repatriation of the Native American Graves and Repatriation Act that's been here.

They have and now we have some aspects of international as well because it's happening all over the world. That we understand and know that these are very emotional things. They have angst for some groups they are more or less than others, other groups. And so you have to take as an anthropologist, you have to take into

consideration the effects of how these, the meanings of these in different people. That is what we try to strive for and so if someone were to or a group were to come and say about anything and now for us it is an even (inaudible 35:46) after graphic materials are also because some of these things that we have that are tribal saying well these are meaningful to us because they are part of a ritual and that ritual is normally understood by the initiated and so you should have this and where..but I don't want to sound colonialistic but also some of the reasons that these still exist is because they have come to our museum.

Now did they come to museum for the right reason in 1905 is…but can we still learn and still get positive things from something that they have come..we have always had, not we but there's always been that problem of things that were collected illicitly or things that were done, done as an example things like materials that may have been collected during World War 2 by the Nazis, what do you do with that? Because it was done in nefarious activity but these people who may, such as the Judaics that died and we have information about them. Could that information not also be used positively for their members and the Holocaust museum in one of these places here in the United States, well there are many Holocaust museums but the one here in Washington DC, we've worked in, we have worked with many instances of things that came from the War Department that were then forgotten after they came in from Berlin and they gathered up all this stuff that was in the Nazi materials but here people have information about people from Poland that were collected and then these people then went to the gas chamber but there's family relationships, there's information about the names so people

who may be family connections can now go and work through those documents and learn about their past, learn about their family members and those kind of things. It's not like it's…so you're trying to something positive out of and utilizing it in a positive way.

Again 30-50 years from now, somebody may say 'oh yeah you were really wrong in doing that' because that's what we got going on right now, you know, and while you shut him down (laughter) and you're like 'fine..well that's what people did in 1905, you know, what can we do with this material? Somethings are just obviously never going to wipe away what was bad and that's why we have some of our Native American populations there were somethings that were done like the Trail of Tears and some of these other things that were just horrendous. There's nothing you can do to really, shall we say, rectify it but there isn't anything that we can do to fix it and in the sense of what we do in reparations or whatever. It doesn't really make people happier, it's still a memory, it's still something, you know, you'll hear in history. So like, just like these guys that are right here, for us, these are some of the few representations that we have of people that come from Africa. For us to be able to understand the African-Americans that are here in the United States now some of this is actually very important for us to have some understanding of the populations of before or at least coming from the early 1900s of populations that are of historic time period that would still be able to relate for us for the African Americans that are here. Now Ms Dee that's down there at the..maybe once in a while I want to say African American, she looks at me she says 'I'm not African I'm black. You know my families have been here for five generations, I have African ancestry. But am I an African American? No. I'm black. I'm in American

and I'm Black'. You know and for her, she's now indifferent but different people have different attitudes too.

W: (laughter)...it's probably different

D: Yeah ...but so in the sense of repatriation purposes, of course I'm not the person to ask because I am not…..

W: Jah..

D: That's above my paygrade..

W: (laughter) jah

D: making those decisions and how to interpret it there but those are the things that, you know, for me..

W: it's a different process.

D: There will be something where there will be this.. an evaluation of, like these ones here, I don't think they will never be in any way just like a lot of the materials that we have or we've been working in Kosovo and Croatia, you have these mass graves. There is very very often, not anyway to identify a particular person but, from the historical documentations that follow oral tradition, oral history or whatever, at least you know that these come from one of two towns.

W: Jah

D: And so these people can then be reburied and or left there at a memorial, put there to identify that they came from. We have had some groups and repatriations questions

that have said well they've been there for a 100-150 years and like some folks that we had that came in when the Smithsonian first was made into a museum that came from the US Navy and the geological services that have been collected and they have had them stored but then they became the original part of the Smithsonian. So we've had stuff that that's been here since 1850s, okay, and in some of those instances the time frame in which they were collected, maybe but we really don't know for sure but a native group from Indonesia or from, may say: well, we never allowed you to take this but because it was the navy that came in, we are going to do, you know.

But then a lot of the groups will then look at it and say: well, they've been there, we know that they are there. It would be a real hustle for you to send these back to us for us to have to go through the ritual for the burial because we wouldn't be able to afford it. Because some of them were identified as being higher status individuals and whatever and they would have to go through all sorts of things to have that done. But they say, if you can learn from them and you've proven that you can learn from them, there is something that we can come back to all the time, that we have that opportunity because you understand that they are meaningful to us and we see that they are meaningful to you. That in that way then it makes almost as good a sense that they are here for the future.

W: For people to…

D: ...And that also for the museums some of the...say like that the African American Museum and the American Indian Museum, both of them are there not only to know and learn about the cultures, the populations of today but also, like the Holocaust Museum too, a remembrance of what happened and hopefully to learn never to do it again.

W: (laughs) I think that's the key thing.

D: And so yeah for these there, we have newer policies at Smithsonian that really goes through a huge review not only for repatriation but also if we are ever going to display anything, it would have to get approved and see why, does it really mean, does this mean for or could and even pictures whether we...It is also already..you really take pictures of this site which is for your records and for you to illustrate for other people. And so permissions for that.if you'd wanted to do Native American material, I'm sorry but you can't. We don't allow Native American remains to be photographed, partially because of the law but we also see that there are certain sensitivities and these are even sensitive in the sense that, you know that this doesn't go on social media and if it's going to go on Time Magazine, you know, that kind of stuff. But those are the things that, because we see these as being meaningful and understand that they are meaningful and we don't want...They are even starting to get more into opinions on other animal remains and insect remains because if we have something that we collected in Brazil , they consider that to be….

W: The national

D: ...Ours or it represents Brazil because it is an insect from Brazil, so should we be asking Brazil whether it's okay to use a picture of their insect, you know, and that so we are getting more and more into that. Sometimes I think we might be overboarding it because somethings just for pure scientific understanding. Although a 100 years ago scientific understanding was also eugenics and other things likes that so…

W: (laughter) yeah I mean with the two meetings that took place. The one in London and the one here at The Museum of Natural History which were both the eugenists' meetings, you know, so... but Dave I must thank you for your time and I know that we...I have to catch the next shuttle. So I must really thank you very much for allowing me to study the remains and also just your generosity and just your help in terms of also providing me with things that I could see around and this has really been wonderful. I was actually at the Museum of Natural History in New York and there again, they were very generous and also in Philadelphia so it's just been wonderful for me. I said to colleagues there, I mean it would be great in the future to organize a conference of some sort, even if it's done via Skype whatever. You know a conversation of some sort, amongst the museums, from across the continents and they were very much open to that. And I think that, I don't know, it's something that I would like to explore, even it fails in terms of its logistics, but it's something that I would like to explore in the future to share ideas on some of the issues that you, also drawing from your experience and how we can share experiences of the museums.

D:We want to involve people like our Repatriations Officer Director

W: Yeah

D: Because he's dealt with the situations with Native Americans but also our Department under Chair. She's been involved in several couple of decisions and the repatriations of international materials but also having other people because like the American Museums there in the Natural History in New York, they are one of the private institutions. So their decisions that they have on repatriations are, like I said, sort of follow the spirit of the law but they are not dictated in the same way we are and universities and any institutions that are under government funding and so it might be interesting to involve Yale or Harvard. Well they are pretty much private but anybody who is under National Science Foundation grants or things like that. So they have a different sort of set of rules than we do.

W: I didn't know that, it's very good to know.

D: There's a guy in here, guess where is he now Samuel Redman. He was here as a postdoc,a predoc, I guess a predoc from Berkeley. I think he's now at Yale but he's done a book and I don't remember the the title of it, Samuel Redman. And you might want to look up his book because he talks about a lot of what you're talking about too: what do museums do, how do museums deal with these things they have kinda like what you said about bones in the closet. It's similar in that you're looking at going ok, now we need to step into a new arena, new room that looks at things from a different light.

Some of these things that we have that have been here that have come here possibly under not as good of means as would have been, but you know, when I was excavating doing...as an archaeologist in the 70s, there wasn't this idea 'oh we've hit a Native American grave, we've got to close the excavation and we're done, we can't do anything else' which is the way it is today. Back then it was ok we keep going and somebody would say back then all what were doing we were being wrong, doing something wrong and you're like 'what are you talking about', because there was a whole different idea and do I look back and go 'well gosh I was really being terrible' and I go 'no I was excavating'.

Now part of the reason I was excavating was like what were talking with Allison, it's cultural resource management, the CRMs. You've got a work that's coming through here and do you leave that thing there and have the black top over the top of this person who is burying you? You don't wanna do that, so you're going dig that person off now whether the person goes to another burial place somewhere else or whether...in the 1970s when I was doing stuff like that there was a lot that was going through. There was going to be a big roar that was going around saying we were silly, we're excavating all the areas and if we found living structures or whatever, we mapped out all that and that kind of stuff. If we hit materials, that materials went into a storage generator that would then go to a museum or something like that for understanding and if we hit human remains, well we're not going to leave the human remains underneath the road. Now back then they would, for us, back then they would also go so that they were here

for research and study and now with the Grave and Repatriations Act they are of course taken over and then they are getting reburied.

W: Yeah yeah, no thanks a lot Dave for all of that information. And I am sure that, if for an example, I have maybe additional questions…

D: Sure

W: ...I will email you and also thanks for the... that written, the documents, which I will be...I started analyzing them yesterday but of course I just need to give myself enough time when I go back home because now I have to see museums, I have to do this so my mind is…

D: Well, when you get back also, I will be very fascinated to have a conversation with the people at the Albany Museum ..

W: Yeah yeah, I will actually

D: Do they have all those 15 individuals that they say that…I would imagine they do.

W: yeah yeah

D: and if they don't, where did they go? And in conversation, if they have anything that was..where are those 20-30 extra remains that they said they wanted to make an exchange with, do they still have those or did they exchange those somewhere else? It's kind of interesting stories..

W: Or what they basically, you know, what knowledge or information that they've derived from those that were brought from here. So no definitely I will go visit the museum because it's not really that far from where..I will take a flight. It's about I think, 2 hours, from Cape Town to Grahamstown and I will probably spend a couple of days but when I, before I came here, the curator was on leave and she said that no we can do it roundabout March so I'll probably go back in March just to link the narrative and see what do they have in their collections. So I….and also again with this thing of a conversation, I will also pitch the idea with them just to get the sense because I believe even with...I don't know if you know anything about the International Council of Museums.?

D: Well, I know them yeah…

W: They do have a committee that deals with, I think its exhibitions and ethnography. There's an International Committee that deals, I think, with exhibitions and how exhibitions can be used to change the way we look at museums and so on and they do have international meetings before the general conference which basically brings all the museums across the world. So I was also thinking that it would be great to get who's

involved in the.., I mean who's the member of ICOM and maybe you can propose a session before the general meeting that can be organized through ICOM and so on that serves at least as a body that will help, you know, facilitate some of these but I don't know because it involves a whole range of institutions because ICOM is administered, I think, in Paris if I'm correct but there are..

D: Be…There may also be in the (inaudible 56:16) thinking about that, that would be something where likely if it's something where it's going to be a..an international conversation conference, it would probably not be me, it would probably be either our director or somebody whose…

W: Somebody else? Yeah I mean it doesn't really ...anyone just sharing the ideas and also get the sense of what is really the future of museums going forward. Museums as institutions, also museums as spaces of learning and how that learning adds value to the global understanding of or educational, what's the educational value. With those kind of issues and also of course, how do we open space for young people to engage with content in museums.

D: Well this is the one thing that I have fought for. Being that I have...my education in physical anthropology without doing the archeology and the historic studies of collections, can I do the forensic work? I look at it also as being something where I want to hopefully protect collections still being around because otherwise the new generations don't have anything to learn from or to understand and that's a concern that

I have. Just as much as museums presenting information that's more fair and less in something that might be identified as racist or having some sort of agenda. But at the same time, you don't want to lose by, don't throw the baby out with the bath water. (laughter). You also learn from materials and sometimes historic materials that are kept around are, like you were saying about the holocaust museum or whatever, remembrances of the past to learn from the past. And that's one of the things that American Indian Museum does a little bit of, is to try to…that factor of...

W: Definitely, definitely.

D: of how…

W: Definitely, definitely.

D: These are leaving cultures. These are leaving population groups and they are still practising many of their traditions that they have or had and are relearning sometimes like the ethnographic material. Sometimes they relearn some of their art, their techniques for making things.

W: Making things

D: ..by going to actually look at some of these things that are still here preserved and that's where that conversation between what we've got here and in groups. Well some

of them would say, ‘you’re actually wrong, that’s not what we use that for, why did you (laughter, inaudible 59:16) that and then there’s an explanation, so that communication of understanding is much more important than…because you have it in front of you.

W: In front of you..yeah

D: and you can say, okay, tell me about this and people can and sometimes it’s what it was supposed to be for or how it’s going to be used.

W: (laughter) Yes

D: Sometimes…(inaudible)

W: Thanks a lot Dave, I’m going to turn this thing off now.

APPENDIX Z

Transcription of the interview between Wandile Kasibe and Daniel A. Gross at 520 Dekalb Ave, Broolyn, New York 11205 on 2 February 2018

W: I hope I'll be able to..oh it's fine, it's fine. So the thing that I, you know, that I, that I did was..I visited the museum the I spoke with her. You know I emailed her before I came here but the thing with her is that she deals with objects, she doesn't really deal with the physical a..the collection so that didn't work out..

D: OK

W: But she was able to, you know, at least to promise that she will be able to give some information that will be useful. For example the, you know, the documents or books that relate to the meetings of the Eugenicists, the people who actually started the Eugenics movement. Apparently it took place at the museum so then it spread throughout the world. So that is very important for my research because what I'm really trying to deal with here I look at museums and the role that museums have played in the construction of race and part of that logic is then to locate how human remains of certain groups in South Africa I will talk about the human remains of the Khoi, the San and the native peoples. Those were sought after remains because there was a general belief that the Khoi San in particular, were a disappearing race, they were a people who would soon be gone and for that then there needed to be a kind of a study on them and preservation of their remains for future generations and then museums then became spaces where those kinds of scientific research projects were undertaken by scientists who worked in museums.

D: So you're especially interested then in the American and European Museums, sorry you're interested also in…

W: Well I link the South African with the…I basically look at the South African, you know, museum where I work and I basically, I also look at the, you know, Natural History Museum here and the one in Philadelphia.

D: Ok

W: I haven't actually…at some point I will be, you know, travelling to Berlin and to Vienna to basically look at how they've basically, you know, handled and received the human remains from Southern Africa because these remains were sent all over the world…

D: So you think that's very important part of..

W: yeah South Africa, Berlin, North America and what's the other one? I've also looked at Namibia as well. I was there actually in Windhoek in August last year. I went there, so I was able to look at what the, the kind of material that they have but of course I didn't really look at the human remains per se but I looked at their human casts because the human casts in our context…There's been an argument that the human casts should be, you know, reclassified. They should actually be looked at as human remains because these are the casts that were made from people who were alive and were made on real human beings and the DNA of those people is part of those casts

D: Inaudible (03:27)

W: Yeah..because when you make a cast sometimes a piece of your hair and everything it gets remained there. So there is that…It's not really, you know, a clear cut

argument but it has some substance in it. It has some argument in it …because it basically then suggests that the human casts should not be…We shouldn't even look at them as objects. We should actually there should be a special way of referring to them perhaps maybe

the category of human remains befits the sensitivity with which we need to deal with them. Back home in South Africa there's Iziko Museums. There's been a new shift in terms of the policy position that the human casts are now being classified as human remains and they are treated in that way in a category that is of the human remains category. So in Namibia I was looking at that. So now I arrive here because part of what I have also been doing was to start the collections of these two figures. One is Samuel George Motten who collected…who had the biggest collection of human skulls and it was called, I think, Mount Golgota, I think that is what it was called because it was the biggest. Then now I have also been looking at Professor Von Luschan who operated in Namibia and South Africa at the time and went in prisons and so on …

D: That's the one I know most about. In general I don't know that much about the famous scientists except for the ones who worked at the museum here and I have a good sense of how the Luschan Collection was acquired and how it fits into the larger…

W: Yeah….that's exactly what I wanted to speak to you about, just your own, really not specific but your own general sense or understanding of the collection and how it arrived here and if for example, you know, there were specific circumstances under which it was collected, if you have any knowledge of that and who were, you know, who was involved in collecting them and whether the museum at the time, you know, had any special interest in collecting those. Whether they arrived by accident or whether

there was a specific curator who had asked for those collections to be here. That's what I wanted to chat to you about and thanks by the way for the article.

D: Yeah. Of course

W: (laughs) It's really quite a, I think, a very big contribution to the discussion.

D: I hope so, thank you very much.

W: And it has really broadened my understanding also for my research and the chapter that I am working on. So I thought that it would be interesting to have this conversation maybe just to get the sense from you and your understanding of the collection. Maybe I should just say on record. What's the date today?

D: It's the 2nd of February

W: Today is the 2nd , I'm having an interview with the Daniel Gross. We are talking about the human remains collections here in the United States. So yeah.

D: Sure so Von Luschan was of course a very global figure. Of course If I say something that you have already come across, feel free to discuss it with me. My sense is that he did collecting trips all around the world. I seem to recall New Zealand, Southern Africa, Hawaii

W: Oh Hawaii as well?

D: Hawaii, he acquired remains as well from East Africa probably from Zaire but I can't recall. So he certainly had a network of contacts who he would write to and ask whether they could send him. My sense is that he had... his main affiliations were in Berlin and he would as his professional commitment to the Ethnography Museum in Berlin allowed him to basically stock that collection.

W: for him ?

D: No not in his private collection but in the Ethnography Museum in Darwin and so there are many human remains that have his name that are associated with his name although he didn't own them or produce them. But separately from that, my understanding is that he built a personal collection of about 5000, just over 5000 skulls and skeletons, mostly skulls. In that 5000, there were 8 from Namibia, what's Namibia? And there were possibly more from modern day South Africa. I'm not sure about that part about exactly how many. It probably got to the United States...there's a lot actually on Luschans's travels around the world. There's a book just about him that's half in German and half in English. It's something like Felix Von Luschan…

W: It's about his travels?

D: It's a collection of skull essays about different places, his methods, his sort of influence on anthropology in different places. I recommend that…

W: I'll take a look at that yeah.

D: And there's specifically an essay on his travels from the pacific to the United States. (Inaudible 09:50)...some lectures. I think in the early, maybe 1908 or 909, just guessing he took a ship with his wife from, I believe it was New Zealand where he was doing research to Hawaii and then to the mainland of the United States and travelled to New York and visited many of the institutions. So there's that book. One other source that you might look

at is the memoirs of the Bishop Museum in Hawaii has some documentation of his research trip. So it describes the graves that he dug up and it discusses the island he was doing his work on and how he influenced the Bishop Museum. So that's the Von Luschan's side and obviously if you have other questions …

W: Yeah I mean that's very useful for me. That sense and also the sources that I could possibly look at. I know that with the museum here, I asked for a list of stuff that they have.

D: In the Luschan collection?

W: Yeah there's about 33 from South Africa

D: That you were able to look at....

W: Yeah so there's about 33 skulls and those are, you know, Bushmens skulls, Forana?, and Hottentots…

D: Some of the skulls are said to have come from Namibia are labelled as South African which is interesting. I think like Luschan seems to be a little bit sloppy in how he collected…

W: In how he collected...yeah and also the sense that, you know, I was reading a story of an incident back home in South Africa because at some point he worked with a…prisons. There was a BreakWater Prison where he had gone at some point and asked for photographs of the Bushmen, the Khoi San. I mean the different race groups in South Africa but his application was….

D: Rejected?

W: …was rejected basically by the Prison. And then my question is, you know, why would such a request be rejected when the practice was accepted at the time. It's dated…the letter is dated 19 what..1904, if I'm correct. Yeah it's dated 1904 and I was able to actually get it from the archives, from the Western Cape Archives, it's an original letter that was written to him. I couldn't get the one that he wrote asking for that, but I

was able to get the one that, you know, was written to him to say that the prison actually does not think that they should give you the material. They shouldn't give…they actually were saying: we don't think that it is good for us us to give you the material, this material for personal use. And then now I'm trying to understand as to why and I think talking to people, and people are…some people are suggesting that because of the, you know, his notorious because he was known. He had influence in the field and that there were lots of people who worked for him and the prison warders actually knew his nefarious work and the fact that you know most people worked for him actually were some of them were grave robbers and they didn't really, you know, want to surrender that material on the basis that, you know,

D: They maybe a bit suspicious?

W: Suspicious yeah and the fact that, you know, most inmates who died in prison, their human remains will end up in Von Luschan's, you know, hands and another thing that I came across was a story of an old lady who was very old and then Von Luschan basically ordered her bones whilst she was still alive saying that she, you know, when she passed away speaking to the authorities in the area, when she passed away, I want her remains. So those kinds of activities.

D: That sounds to me, it sounds consistent with what I came across. He didn't seem to mind very much. He would write to somebody and ask for remains and they would write back that they were going to get remains from Hemes? (inaudible 14:59-15:05)..that much…that idea didn't seem to phase him. So I don't think he was scrupulous about where it came from.

W: Where it came from?

D: There was though one essay in that book that I mentioned that was left? There is one essay there that suggests that perhaps later in his later years in collecting, he started to get more conscious and more sensitive and that he started to write and follow up letters saying “you know I don’t want to work in these conditions, I don’t anybody to be killed”, specifically he said “I don’t want anybody to be killed (inaudible 15:37-15-38).
W: So that will be interesting to, I mean the book would give me a sense of really of a …because the information that I got from the archives and the information I got from other sources seem to suggest that, you know, he collected things and of course the understanding of race science at the time and now I’m trying to understand now, how did the American Museum of Natural History got to be involved in that business of collecting and when did the remains arrive here and how they actually got into the collection. So that’s the part that I’m also trying, you know, to understand, you know. I don’t know if you know anything about that.
D: Yeah so, just on the earlier question of his methods. If you get that wrong there’s one aspect called The Adventures in the Skin Trade by Andrew Zimmerman and he documents. He dug out letters from soldiers who would send Luschan remains and they, they traded specifically letters specifically about what Luschan wanted and what the soldiers could provide. So that is amazing detail and those are in, they are outside of Berlin. So if you ever wanted to look them up…In terms of how they got to this museum, my sense according to interview with historians was that collecting human remains for anthropology became a sort of a feather in the cap. It was a source? of pride and museums would brag about how large and authentic their collections were. So when Luschan went to Hawaii he basically scolded the (inaudible 17:43) the head of

the museum saying that you should have a much larger collection and later they looked at his recommendation and I think that was typical that say the Smithsonian and the Army Medical Museum here in the US and the American Museum of Natural History. They all had and the Field Museum here in Chicago. They all were competing. And so in the archive here, you could find letters by Clark Wesley who is the curator of Anthropology at the time…

W: Oh Awesome

D: And he..in 1923, when he was arguing for the purchase in favour of the purchase of the Luschan collection he was saying, you know, "We are strong in our native American collection, we are strong in our…", you know, he listed some other areas they were strong in. But he said we are very weak in the primitive races. He specifically mentioned Africa, Asia non-white people and I think that was the…They had a sense of competition that was irrational. They had a sense of competition and they also wanted a complete collection, something representative of the whole world.

W: That makes sense, that makes sense because of the global competition and now the..Another question is now, so what's the name of that curator again who was…?

D: That was Wesley, Clark Wesley was the curator and his boss was Hendry Osborne who was president of the museum and they both, they both felt that the collection here needs strengthening, strengthening meaning needed more balance.

W: And what are the other museums that you know, do you know of any other museums that worked with the Museum of Natural History here. For example there were exchange between museums, for example the skull of, the skull of this native

person, a scientist maybe would want to study it at a different museum. Was there any kind of exchange between museums?

D: I don't..I think there was, I'm sure there was some circulation. I'm not sure about it in this museum. My guess is that the museums would probably not trade with each other because they were competing…

W: They were competing

D:So I imagine the American Museum of Natural History and the Smithsoninan were kept relatively separate for example, but there was an example of Luschan did research in Hawaii and he robbed graves there. Some of those remains ended up in the Bishop Museum in Hawaii and some of them ended up in the American Museum of Natural History. So scientists had the ability to choose where things would go.

W: Yeah

D: And in terms of how the large full private collection of Luschan ended up here, he put it up for sale in 1923.

W: Oh

D: He circulated sort of the information to several museums around the world, I think Michigan was interested for a while. They offered to purchase it for $40 000 and then there were some exchange in which Michigan sort of agreed to let the American Museum of Natural History have it as long as they would match the price maybe because it was a bigger museum or something. So the president of the museum founded outside donors to cover the costs and agreed to pay the money and so Luschan is at his death bed in this point, he dies during the transaction in January of

1924 and then the money ends up going to his wife who packages all of the fortune in a Berlin ship and they sort of had an intermediary who would ...who took care of the money transferring ship. But I think the collection arrived a little poorly categorized including the documents because of this awkward (inaudible 22:10-15) he didn't finish documenting all the $40 000.

W: So then the...yeah because it's also another interesting part? Because what I've discovered is that in some of the, I mean check in here if you..., some of the remains that I have seen, for example there will be, there will be no person's name. It would be a Negro from Africa or a Hotentott from South Africa. So why do you think it was important for people's names not be attached to skull? Was there perhaps a reason or was it just a, was it because people were not interested in people's names?

D: I think there's..I agree with you that's uncomfortably is..was the practice in Europe, in the United States to record the race, or record the age, the gender, their ethnicity and not to mention their names. I think there's a few different factors at play, one of them is certainly that some scientists thought that there were some humans that didn't deserve that shouldn't be followed as people. Certainly some of the (inaudible 23: 37) thought that way.

W: Because these were not real humans beings, they were basically…

D: Their names were irrelevant because it's like, you know, you wouldn't write down the name of your cat or your, you know or a gorilla you see who's...and that's I think for the most disturbingly racist explanation. I think also, these people thought of themselves as very scientific and rigorous and I think they thought of this as data and so to them the important aspect of it was what can we learn about race and you know, differences

between people rather than telling individual stories or cultural stories. I think they were interested in measurements, and interested in biology.

W: Biology

D: You know, and that made them more clinical about it.

W: Yeah this is awesome. And just, you know, like your own view. Do you then think that, you know, museums.. I mean you've answered this. Just for the record, do you think that museums then have been involved in the construction of race like as institutions and whether or not do you think that, that production of race was part of a much bigger colonial project?

D: I should just say that I'm not an expert on the kinda of the wider history since my story was quite specific on this collection. But my instinct is to say yes to all of those things. Museums, these museums like this handful of powerful museums that have large collections, for instance their scientists were actively theorizing about differences between races. Some of them believed that there were inferior and superior races, not all of them. Some of them felt very differently but still studied the same remains. I do think these museums are colonial institutions that have trouble in histories that have not fully been reckoned with. You see more sensitivity, I think in Germany, than you do in the US will be the comfortability between the 20th century history and the 21st. . I think in the United States there's a myth that we dodged the bullet of eugenics racism, you know scientific racism. I think a lot of museums like to pretend that America was the good guys and Germany might have been the bad guys and I would say that it doesn't look like museums, museums like this one were free from that. Some are the same.

W: The same practices?

D: So..no I wouldn't say that, not the mass killings, not the deliberate collection of…well. I would say not the mass killings but pretty much the rest of it is shared, is shared with so many..

W: Yeah. And then just maybe, one last….so do you think then that…I mean you don't need to answer this if you don't, do you then think that museums should be decolonized? I mean you said you're not an expert but if… I mean what would you like to see in the museum in as far as these collections are remain…I mean what's the, what's the future of these collections in museums and where would you locate the concept decolonization in museums if they are, if they are colonialist institutions in the manner in which they do things. Where do we locate decolonization and what is the future of the…

D: I guess I'll start by saying a specific answer and then I expand to a few ideas but specifically in the American museum of Natural History in New York, I think it would be appropriate at a bare minimum to begin contacting descendants to notify them that if there are remains in the collections and they could belong to their group because people deserve to know, I think and it's troubling at the least that there could be skulls currently being studied and that descendants from that same community don't know about and they didn't give consent to that scientifically (inaudible 28:46-28:50). I think that's the bare minimum, I think repatriation anytime that a community wants repatriation, that should also be the bare minimum. That's generally what they do, it just takes a while and they, sometimes they're reluctant to spend a lot of money on it but in general they do seem to be okay with that. In the US there's this law called the Native

American Graves and Repatriation Act, so that kicks in anytime it's a Native Hawaiian or Native American.

W: ….outside it's a different..

D: Yeah and that's, I think that's the problem.

W: That's where…

D: So there ought to maybe be a law that covers all global remains that at least sets a bare minimum standards for that. I think on top of that, in terms of decolonization, I do think that have a responsibility to own up for their own mistakes or for their own comlpicity in injustice. But I do think that different museums will take it differently, I think that sometimes an exhibition about the injustice itself is appropriate. Sometimes, you know, getting rid of a collection like, you know, giving it back or transferring it to a different group is appropriate. Sometimes keeping the collection but aggressively re-contextualizing it by trying to demonstrate to the public and the scientists that this is how we got it and this is what might mean and these are the lessons you can learn, that can also be a good strategy and I think that in general those conversations should involve and often be led by the descendants of those where the remains came.

W: Do you think that it's a, maybe this is the last question, do you think that it's racist to display human remains of, you know, only black African people in a Natural History Museum that was meant for the depiction of animals.

D: I think in almost every case the answer is definitely yes. I think that when a community of descendants asks for that to happen then I'm not sure what the answer is. (laughter). I don't presume to really know what the answer is but I think that your framing of the question is important in the..The design or the functioning of the museum

is..affects this question a lot like if the museum would never display a Roman human remain and they would display a Herero human remain then that simply suggests that it is racism. On the other hand if there is a general interest in like human skeletons or human evolution about it then maybe they could make a case. It's arguable…maybe stay out of that (32:00-32:04 laughter followed by inaudible speech) but I think that also it can be trickier for example in Namibia, I think it's possible to make the case that a Namibian institution can display Herero remains respectfully as part of a narrative of, you know, acknowledging injustice. That I think is up to the people closest to the remains who can hopefully speak for them.

W: Yeah this is awesome. But I must say that, you know, I've had a discussions with the Jafhta, is it?

D: yeah yeah, sure.

W: Yeah, he really..

D: He's really bothered by the idea of displaying in any situation…

W: Yeah he's really been useful for me in terms of providing me with context such as yourself and I will be meeting him, I will be meeting with him in DC when I travel to DC and it's just interesting to see the different key players, people who are contributing, in their way, to the broader global discussion around the question of human remains in museums and the role of museums in this century and beyond. There seems to be, there seems to be, you know, a challenge that communities are throwing at museums to say, to basically, not question but to basically suggest new ways of working in museums and how museums should actually do business in this century and beyond because people are starting to compare how a museum has been operating over the past

century and whether or not that role should continue in the way that it has been especially when it comes to sensitivities around the display of human remains, the display of human casts in museums. People seem to be suggesting that, you know, there needs to be a new way of working in museums and back home in South Africa there's also been a process whereby the human casts were taken down, the exhibition was closed down permanently and a policy was taken that there should never be a display of human casts in that museum and that museum should actually should not have any human skulls in their collections. That's wha…there seem to be a, what you call, a, you know, a decision that has been taken to basically also look into the history of collecting in museums. What should museums collect now, should they continue to collect for example humans remains for all sorts of reasons even if it's a question of human evolution. Should that be in a museum and what happens to the history of race that has been attached for example to certain bodies. So are we looking into that history and how are we justifying it? So I'm just saying that there's a position that's been taken in some countries such as ours and it seem to be that, I don't know about Namibia, but it seems to be that we are influencing other countries in the region. So I must thank you again for, you know, for making time to, you know..

D: Of course

W: …to talk to me because there seems to be a lot that's happening in terms of…Also our institutions communicating with institutions here to find a way of having conversations because this was or this is actually a global practice because collections were basically shipped from South Africa to, you know, this part of the world. And I came across with a collection that was sent to the Smithsonian. It left South Africa in

1911 and I think about May 1911 and I also came across some documents that, you know, speak to the idea that there was actually a Bushman Relics Protection Act that was passed in….The collection arrived in March but the Act was passed in May. It meant that whoever sent the collections here, sent the collections knowing that there was an Act that was coming into fruition in May. So they were then shipped, you know, before that Act came into, you know, fruition and I'm also trying to understand what was the rationale for people to basically ship, to ship those before the Act, probably because they knew they would be limited to bring them here. So it means that they came here, you know, at a time when there was a political rationale, a political decision that was taken by the then colonial, because even the government that took, that made such an Act. They were not interested in the, you know, they wanted to keep those so that they entertain scientists whoever wanted to study them will have to go to the country but the remains themselves and the relics that belong to the Bushmen should remain there and whoever wanted to study them should go there as opposed to, you know, stealing or going in other countries to actually study those relics. So I thought that I should just make that, you know, that reference. I don't know if you have any last remarks that you want to say about, you know, really generally….

D: I mean in reaction to what you pointed out, I do think that a radical projection of this inheritance is important and I'm very happy that some museums have taken (inaudible 38:39) and I think that they can teach more conservative museums like the American Museum of Natural History that there are other ways to do this. In Germany, I spoke to two directors of German Museums, both of them told me we don't want to conserve human remains, we would like to repatriate them as soon possible it's just impossible

finding the descendants and doing it in a respectful manner. That's totally appropriate, especially in Germany in a German context and I think any time that you display human remains in a museum context you run the risk of upsetting people and you also inadvertently stir up memories of a different kind of display that was explicitly racist intended to demean certain people. So it seems very tricky to do that, there are very rare cases where that makes sense.

W & D: Yeah

D: I think it's just right to sort of err on the side of doing the ethically correct thing rather than taking the risk of doing something provocative like displaying the remains here in the United States. One thing that you might be interested in, the Smithsonian sent me a list of all their African remains. About a thousand, I think, mostly mummies from Africa but from Egypt but some, like the remains that arrived in 1911 from South Africa those would be in that list and so would many others. So if you want it I can send it to you.

W: Yeah please please, that'd be great because they only sent me about 4, so they made it (inaudible 40:56-40:59).

D: Their policies were helpful in that, they pulled themselves to the standard of being transparent about their collection and so any human remain from that collection, you can request it from (inaudible 41: 11-41:13)..where as the museum here is a little more, you know, nervous about it.

W: (laughs) Yeah I can imagine because this is a very sensitive topic especially now. But Daniel I must really thank you for your time…

D: Thank you, I have learnt a lot about South Africa as well..

W: So I mean it would be great at some point in your work or in your job and all that if..because I'm thinking that at some point when I go back home, I would love to organize a global conference of some sort…

D: Yeah, that'd be great.

W: Either…

D: A bunch of people have suggested that

W: Yeah yeah, either it's done via Skype as maybe a small conversation and then bring together the people who've been working on this. Something that I would also like to suggest to Jafhta is what can we possibly do…

D: Definitely

W: Because there seems to be an interest in talking about really this topic because it links to histories of people and how those histories are being curated in museums and how museums in their way of trying to, not to distance themselves from their legacies but in a way of trying to find a new voice within a voice that's been created and how they should then circumnavigate through the space that is politically charged. And I think that, you know, people like yourselves and others, it will be interesting to find a way of maybe opening a space for us to share our ideas and experiences on how we could possibly deal with this subject of..because it's not gonna evaporate anytime soon, it's gonna be around because, you know, even when you have returned the remains, the history of how those remains were acquired still lingers. It's still, you know, it carries on. So I think that's where I think then, you know, issues around the scholarship and the body of work that was produced in the process of creating these. How then do you begin to, you know, to work through some of these historical accounts because these

may also help in, you know, communities to understand where they come from as a people.

D: Yes

W: So…

D: I think it's a great idea

W: Yeah, so…

D: And there's also a nice opportunity to connect aspects of the story that are independently researched so that the Hawaiian story and the Native American story, the Southern African story they are usually separated and I think it's important to bring these people on the same room. So I'd really be in favour about it, if you can organize something I'd be happy a lot, I'd be there.

W: So I will definitely try to put something together but of course it won't be next week or anytime soon because these things they take a while to organize but I must say thank you very much for..

D: Yes thank you as well, it's been interesting

W: So I'm gonna stop

Ends

APPENDIX Z (1)

Interview with David Morris on 31 July 2018 at the *McGregor Museum*

W: Good day, today is the 31st of July. I am in an interview...research interview with Dr David Morris and..at the Kimberly..the Mcgregor Museum yes. So we're just talking about issues around museology and human remains and all of the identity politics that inform the way museums operate and the history of museums. Just general issues but yeah.

So now, you were saying something about the museum. Maybe you can just give me a brief background about the museum and how many you know, human remains do you guys have here and what have been the issues around these and what's the plan going forward, for example.

D: Ok so the McGregor Museum was established in 1907..(inaudible) In 1908 Maria Wilman came as the first curator and her particular involvement in the issue, the remains, we were actually the catalyst for the study by Legassick and Rasool and we and Iziko then jointly published the book. Yeah, so there's that early history which was spurred by Perg **(not sure of spelling),** obviously was...he actually came through and there was that agenda the museum had started shortly after the 1905 conference where issues of defining race…

W: Would that be the the Baas**?** Conference?

D: It was the...yes.

W: I think **AC Huddon** was one of them

D: And Beethoven in particular. So..and her background, Wilman's background was science and botany was one of your big things. She started the Hebrarium here. She was into Lunaian classification things. And the museum also, it started as a natural history museum. She did a little bit of collecting natural history but regarded as peripheral but very interesting that archaeology and anthropology were seen as being part of natural history (laughter) so there's that particular museum genealogy very much in place here. Yeah and it was a very small museum. It was a municipal museum up until the 1950s I think and then it became a province agency so we then obtained an annual contribution to process from the Cape Province in the 1950s and we've continued to be very poorly subsidized from government. We have a very small slice of the cake even to this day. For the last three years we have been a public entity. Well it's going to be interesting to see whether it was a good move or not but funding remains a problem…(laughter)

W: A problem

D: Three years ago we were less than 50% of our posts were **floored/fraught** (4:08). So I think..the lively history of the museum has constantly been that kind of struggle. Uhm yeah so Wilman was then responsible for by far the bulk of the human remains that we have. It's not a very big collection. On the top of my head, I can't remember the exact number.

W: Number

D. Yeah. It's over like a 100 to over 150 something, maybe smaller than that. And it's mostly Northern Cape, but we do..we have two skulls from Australia that were part of one of those exchanges we spoke about previously. And some years ago at the time of the return of the Klaas and Rooi Pienaar from Vienna and there were discussions with the Austrian High Commission..

W: How to..

D: Yes. And that was being conducted national level through DAC and that's come to an end or come to a halt.

W: So there hasn't been any.

D: It's not actually happened and we know that the two skeletons went from here to Australia. Whether it was part of that particular exchange, we dont' know and we don't know where those are maybe somewhere in Australia maybe two different places and there was also some material that is still actually out on loan. Went to cross loan in the..probably in the 1920s I think from here to Vienna.

W: So that never came back?

D: It never came back. And then in the 1930s there was a big project to irrigate along the Riet River and in connection with that, there was a chap called Phallow, I suspect he was partly salvaging human remains that were going to be destroyed by the canals. And so quite a lot of material came in which Broom **t**hen went in and classified and some of it was said to be Bush..these terminology. Some was Karano and so on. That's actually been regarded as quite an important collection because of its overpopulation of a

particular period in the latest day and age and in an area which was socially smashed up in the 1830s in the fall of the Imfeqane and so we don't know if there any descendants . There might well be but those communities were destroyed by that kind of pre-frontier frontier if I can put it that way. And..but...and then in the 1970s one of my predecessors Tony Humphreys, lately he retired from UWC, he looked at the archeological connections with infinities of this material and then put big questions marks around the typologies of the past and particularly remains of classifications and that led to a particular study of that population by Allan Morris and he just blew the racial science thing out of order . And so in a sense the undoing of racial science started in this institution in relation to that particular project.

W: So with the revisitation of how the, you know, the remains were classified by those who started with the classification.

D: So those classifications were overturned and the..I mean Allan Morris criticized the whole racial classification signs in his study. So that was an interesting episode in the history of that particular collection. And something that was important that happened in the 1950s in the museum was the beginning of collections of historical materials and so this then became the general museum and we had..we have the important Duggan Cronin collection, I am not sure if you have heard of that.

W: No

D: So that's an ethnographic anthropological collection of material objects and photographs

W: Oh I see

D: and initiated by a chap called Duggan Cronin who was an Irishman

W: Dugga..what's the..

D: Duggan Cronin

W: oh ok, ok

D: and of course the Irish were always a little bit against the grain but the interesting thing that he...he was interested in photography and working in community, he came across people who came from different parts of the country.

W: So they would take photographs?

D: Yeah. So migrant labour defined a very major aspect of what Kimberly was in those years and so there was this cosmopolitan mix of people and so he...and he was in no doubt motivated by the idea of typologies so but what he did was mainly through the 1920s. He eventually managed to scrounge funding and he had a colleague called John Madela and the two of them would go out to the rural homes of people who would come here as migrant workers and which went all the way up to what's now Malawi.

W: Oh wow wow

D: And so it is a very important collection covering a period where not many other people were doing that kind of recording, documentation, photographing. The early ones he had individuals sort of posed in the mine dumps as if that was the Transkei.. So quite ..very problematic in many ways and with these trips out into rural areas kind of

constructing tribes and when it all came back to Kimberly, when he brought the photographs..

W: Is it really recording if it's red now? I think it is.

D: Ok

W: I hope it is. Yeah no yeah so I don't know, I've just forgotten now where you were.

D: We were talking about Duggan Cronin and so he collected objects and he photographed people and so it's an amazing snapshot, if one can use that, of how things were in the 1920s. Probably quite a lot of the photographs that he took were constructed and posed so there was that kind of construction of tribalism. But nevertheless if you put those lenses on, as you were saying earlier, where you can actually read something about a particular stage of colonial conquest. Although it was post the..

W: Yeah

D: Institution of colonial rule. And yeah so that become a very important part of this museum's collections. In the 1940s, it would have been, he started what was called the Duggan Cronin Bantu Gallery.

W: Oh I see, I see.

D: That was seen as being quite radical at the time because people were referred to as natives so he said they are not natives they actually have a proper name.

W: That's where the Bantu..?

W & **D**: Yeah yeah

D: Although..

W: Is it a person wjo actually conjured it up or

D: Does it..(inaudible 14:07)So...well..I mean..you mean conjured up the term?

W: Yes

D: Well I think the term has been used in a linguistic sense dating back to

W: Yeah yeah to…(inaudible 14:17)

D: But it was seen more sensitive to people than just calling..

W: Natives..yeah yeah

D: Although some people nowadays, you may hear (laughter)...

W: Bantu is much better than…(laughter)

D: Although I'm also a native of South Africa in the strict sense of being born here but so and that gallery had a room for that quarter and called that Xhosa, that Zulu so it was typologies all the way. And then when I joined the museum in the 80s, I'd come out of UCT. I did Social Anthropology under John Sharpe and so I was highly critical. Although I think that period was also being criticized subsequently (laughter)..

D: Certainly yeah and what I found here was..were a bunch of people who were actually also being critical about what museums are, and what this museum was. So that was back in 19..1981. All of that tribal stuff was being dismantled in the museum.

W: As early as 80s?

D: Yeah. And so I found in some individuals here in some of the stuff that was being done I found quite a lot progressive thinking about museums and about society and about the society that was constructed by the colonial state and the apartheid state.

W: And how would you..what do you think should be..what's the best way of putting this. How have museums and perhaps maybe this museum in particular. You've given, I think a, I think a clear outline in terms of its contribution in terms of collecting material and so on. So how has all of that contributed to notions of identity and race in South Africa and what would you say is the direct contribution between this museum and the apartheid state and if there was any, the colonial administration. Where can one make the connections, if there any?

D: I suspect that this museum stuck away in Kimberly at the furthest into the Cape province from Cape Town..

W: yeah yeah

D: and for a long time, it was a one woman show, Maria Wilman. I don't know to what extent anyone really noticed what was happening.

W: what was happening..

D: Just in Kimberly. But in the sense that for instance the Duggan-Cronin Gallery anyone who went in there would just see what was in the apartheid textbooks about the Xhosa etc, etcetera. And so it's certainly bolstered up those kinds of notions. And I think one's seen since the probably some of it started in the 70s, 80s, one's seen the progressive awareness of the programs.

W: And then the relationship between the McGregor Museum and other museums in South Africa. Has there been any exchange in terms of the human remains, I remember I mentioned earlier what I had, what I was presented with when I visited the US. They presented to me 5 human skeletons, you know. The skeletons that had been shipped out of South Africa from the Albany Museum to the Smithsonian and then the Smithsonian actually shipped out of the US 5 Peruvian heads, was there any, I mean you mention the skulls from…Australia

D: Yes.So…

W: Was there any..

D: I'll tell you what we've got. We've got one skull from..it's called Hudson Bay.

W: Hudson Bay?

D: Yeah which is United States. We've got no record of anything going from here, if it is possible there was some unrecorded exchange. And then the are the two that went to Vienna, that went to Perg and then there were two that went to Australia. Those are the only ones that I know of..that went from here. Wilman certainly...she wrote a lot with Balfour in terms of Archeological artifacts, tools and...I think she might have sent some

but probably not many as far as I can determine and we have..we don't have anything that Balfour sent here. So even in those terms, I am not sure if there was much.

W: And what year was that again ?

D: Wilman..so her correspondence with Balfour was in the 1910s.

W: Because the reason I was asking about that, the year specifically, I know that in 1911 if I'm correct, around about April, that's when the protection of the Bushmen Relics Act was passed, which means then it would have been then against the law to basically send anything outside of the borders. So the period also becomes important because…

D: I have also been looking into that in connection with the Australian one. The two, I think it was two, or was it three that went to Vienna were alone and...

W: they never came back

D: they never came back. So the guys alone might have been a way of getting around that. But that's something to look into.

W: Yeah because I know that with the ones I was mentioning to you earlier. The basically...the 5 skulls that had been dug out in Port Alfred, they were basically convicts. There are in the records that basically clearly..the letters that were basically exchanged between the two museums and the year that is stated there, I think they were shipped out in March 1911 and then in April the law was passed so there was a very short period, I dont know whether there was an intention to make sure that that they are out of the country before otherwise (laughter). So I'm trying to also understand the significance

of how much of that, the passing of the legislation would have had an impact on the amount of material that was actually leaving the country because there were concerns that European scientists were basically getting the best and there was no way of controlling of what was leaving the country and so I am also trying to understand the significance of that period especially what happened just before the passing and just after the act was passed and whether or not there was any, what you call, a high rate of of staff being sent out or whether it reduced, yeah, whether the amount got reduced because of the act, or whether stuff still actually left the country but perhaps maybe in different ways. So that also for me becomes an important one. It also I think, you know, shows me that even then, under the colonial administration, there was also an awareness stuff was leaving the country and the people who were actually pushing for stuff not to leave the country were also concerned that...they were not actually, they were actually working with, what you call, the quality material was being sent out and European and North American Scientists were getting the best but South African scientists were not getting..they were basically working with the..

D: The dregs

W: You know what I'm saying. Yeah yeah. So I'm also trying to understand the competition between the two because at the heart of it all the victims or the people or the communities whose remains were basically being shipped out of the country were not ..were never part and parcel of those conversations and how then have museums dealt with that and whether or not there are records of how many left and how many were kept and all of those things. So I'm also trying to understand the significance of that period, so and yeah, that for me is something I am interested in understanding.

D: One of the problems that we have is that Wilman was actually very bad at keeping records of correspondence. So whether there was..she was engaged in things that didn't come through the museum's register for instance, we don't know.

W: You don't know.

D: It will be something to look at.

W: Yeah yeah.

D: But as I said I am only aware of those few museum transactions.

W: Yeah no thanks a lot for this David, just maybe one last question is: So what's the way forward now for human remains in your museum, what should happen and how have these remains been used or kept in the museum and what's the future and what should happen going forward and I know that there are global discussions at the moment around the repatriation of these individuals and collective remains and in the context of the McGregor Museum, what's the plan?

D: Ok so we've been looking particularly at those that come from outside the country - the Australian example as one of our priorities. There's also, you'll know from Legassick and Rasool's book there are…

W: Yeah The Skeletons in the Cupboard

D: So there are some remains that were subject to what is referred to as atrocities in their acquisition and so we have identified all human remains that are being associated with particular individuals like Lennox as being possibly and in some cases definitely

robbed from graves and maybe individuals would have been murdered like….So those have been put completely under moratorium with no access.

W: Because of the unethically...the fact that that they were unethically collected.

D: Now I'm an archaeologist and we have seen how human remains can contribute to addressing myths, stories and so on and what I'm getting it is that there is some grey areas (laughter) some of them older, others younger, so there has been this..there has an approach in museums over the last two decades that has tried to or has kind of classified as getting back to classification (laughter) to..so this is central to ethically and unethically and that can be History of the **Sleb/Slave (Please confirm 28:52)** in itself and where one would draw a line between say somebody like your homeland fossil that's hundred and thousands of years old and at what point..so all of those difficult issues. We've actually also recently been involved with some salvage work where for instance the local municipality dug a trench through 145 graves. Some of the graves, one of the graves turned out to have 14 individuals in it so we salved or salvaged 15 out of 145. And out of those 15 graves,we got over a 100 individuals and they literally shouted at us out of the graves as we were salvaging them.. that mistreatment of migrant workers in Kimberly that was not apparent or kind of hinted at in historical records but there we saw the actual evidence of what was being done to people and how they were just in these pauper graves and how they were just dumped. The holes were..every hole was a kind of regular to the point of frightening, real facading stuff and these bodies were just being dropped. So and that's at an international team working at those and being able to..so finding those and looking at those we have been able to

identify not to name but some kind of profiling for individuals who were..who came to Kimberly to work on the mines, died and often under very very..

W: Violent circumstances

D: and probably, probably I would wonder whether anyone back home would hear about some who just went missing, went to Kimberly and went missing and so we have been able to redress and give dignity, in a sense, through knowledge and interestingly some of the people working on those particular remains who are based in the Netherlands have been using them to, because of the certain kind of injuries and so on, have been able to use those to put together protocols for the study of contemporary modern day cases of genocide and so on. So that's been quite interesting and. So I have personally come to the view that the study of these remains can be beneficial in multiple ways and including dispensing with this whole notion of race and so on.

W: So would you then maybe suggest that, I remember reading a document I think it was entitled The Vienna Protocol, I just forgotten it dealt with a group of scientists who came together and produced a doc. It was a conference but the conference ended with a document and some guidelines, I don't know if that's what you're referring to and the discussion was around how should, going forward, how should people deal with..in fact for them they used the holocaust remains of the Jewish communities who had died during the Nazi German rule and then use that as a foundation upon which to build guidelines on how to deal with human remains going forward. So my question then, maybe just one last question, in the context of people that have never given consent for their remains to either to be dug up or studied in the museological context very well the

colonial violence and apartheid violence that was committed when these remains were either stolen or taken and I know, Sieraaj and Martin Leggasick they also make, I think a comment on the fact that Von Luschan at some point had also ordered remains of an old women who had not died yet that you know, the human remains of that lady are basically mined when she died then people..and people were informed that when she passed away her remains would belong, would basically be Von Luschan's. So in those kinds of instances and knowing very well the circumstances under which these human remains arrived at Museums, would you consider that as material that, you know, should still be studied, that should still be..

D: So it is precisely that material that we have set hands off

W: Ok

D: But we actually have an interesting, you probably know Tessa Campbell, do you know her?

W: No

D: She's at UCT

W: What's her name again?

D: Tessa, Tessa Campbell, she's a Khoisan descendant, I understand and she's, yeah, I think she's from Cape Town and she was actually wanting to study TB, the history of TB and so she obtained access to the remains of…which are the ones, which are on that sliding scale more ethical than

W: than the unethical?

D: yeah and she referred to the healthy dead amongst the Khoi San so the later Stone Age skeletons all turned to be in terms of pathologies, they would have died of things other than dreadful diseases and she was actually very naughty because she actually had a look at one of the ones that was off-limits

W: Ohh

D: And she said that this skeleton is riddled with pathologies, it's pointing to one of the impacts of colonialism that no one is looking at and she said if ever the moratorium is lifted she's going to open a can of worms in terms of the history of disease and so yeah as I say we don't allow anyone to look at those.

W: Yeah yeah

D: But she as a person who was, whose community, whose ancestors were subjected to disease that was caused by colonialism, she was saying she wants to actually study that but she can't see it in the older later Stone Age inscriptions. She said she wants to look at communities dating back to the 200th century.

W: Yeah it's very interesting.

D: So that was an interesting point, yeah but so obviously there are these histories that preclude one studying the..

W: Yeah maybe just the last question now, sorry for this and I mentioned earlier that I am working on an un.., it hasn't really been clearly defined the concept of The Museum

Truth Reparations Claims and Repatriations Commission and I, as I have mentioned that it emanated from a discussion that was held at Iziko, I'd put together a conference. Part of the conference was to look at the meaning of decolonization in the museological context so we were trying to understand what does decolonization mean in the museological context and one the panelists or the speakers actually made, his name is Zenzile Khoisan, he made a very important point, rather statement, to say that: What we need in South Africa is a Museum Truth Commission. That's how he put it, I started to, you know, to dig deeper into this in terms of my own thinking to say that perhaps what we need is more than just a Museum Truth Commission, perhaps what we need is a Museum Truth Repatriation and Reparations Commission. So I just wanna maybe hear from you, what do you think of this, do you think that this is something that could work in terms of you know looking into the way forward in terms of dealing and also creating awareness around the history of collecting in museums particularly when it comes to human remains and I'm not saying this to say that, you know, nothing has actually been done and I want to argue that publications that we've seen and discussions that have taken place, these to me are discussions that I don't think that the majority of South Africans have access to and when you talk about issues of human remains, you talk about issues of human dignity and ancestors who, you know, who are who when they were still alive they were part of communities, they belonged with the people and the question is whether people are aware that there are human remains of the ancestors that are still being locked in museums, so I just wanna maybe just get your input on that, you know, what do you think? Do you thinks that the Museum TRRCs is something that could work in addressing and dealing with the question of human remains in museums

not just in South Africa but maybe a global approach to how museums are actually being taken to task for their role in the collection and possession of human remains, making reference of course to what's happening in Berlin for example. The museums in Berlin are repatriating human remains, to for example, back into Namibia and other institutions are doing the same. So what's your take on the Museum Truth Repatriation and Repatriations Commission?

D: So, there have been lots of discussion in Museums and within SAMA and DAC on policy and the sorting out of policy is taking a long time. You know, I think, I think it could be a good thing, I think there need to be, and I don't think it's only human remains, it's a whole way in which museums collected and classified (inaudible 41:52) that constructed a particular kind of modernist/ modern history reality that and which is at the base of how people are encouraged to typologize and we even have a situation where on a quarterly bases we have to fill in museums where, government forms where we have to state what race we are (laughter) which is rather ironic and in fact we had a discussion here at the museum. One of these sort of pecurian kind of things where quite a lot of these museums started which kind of undermined some of those assumption. So I think a lot of assumptions in society are 80s in the best part but whether such a commission is the best basically..Yeah I think it could be an interesting..

W: Interesting approach

D: Approach

W: Yeah no thank you very much David. I think I'm done on my side. I just wanna close this off, so we are done now and the time now is 43 minutes and 37 seconds and that's it

APPENDIX Z (2)
QUESTIONNAIRE

Name:……
Surname:……..
Anonymous:……
Institution:……
Date:……
Position:……

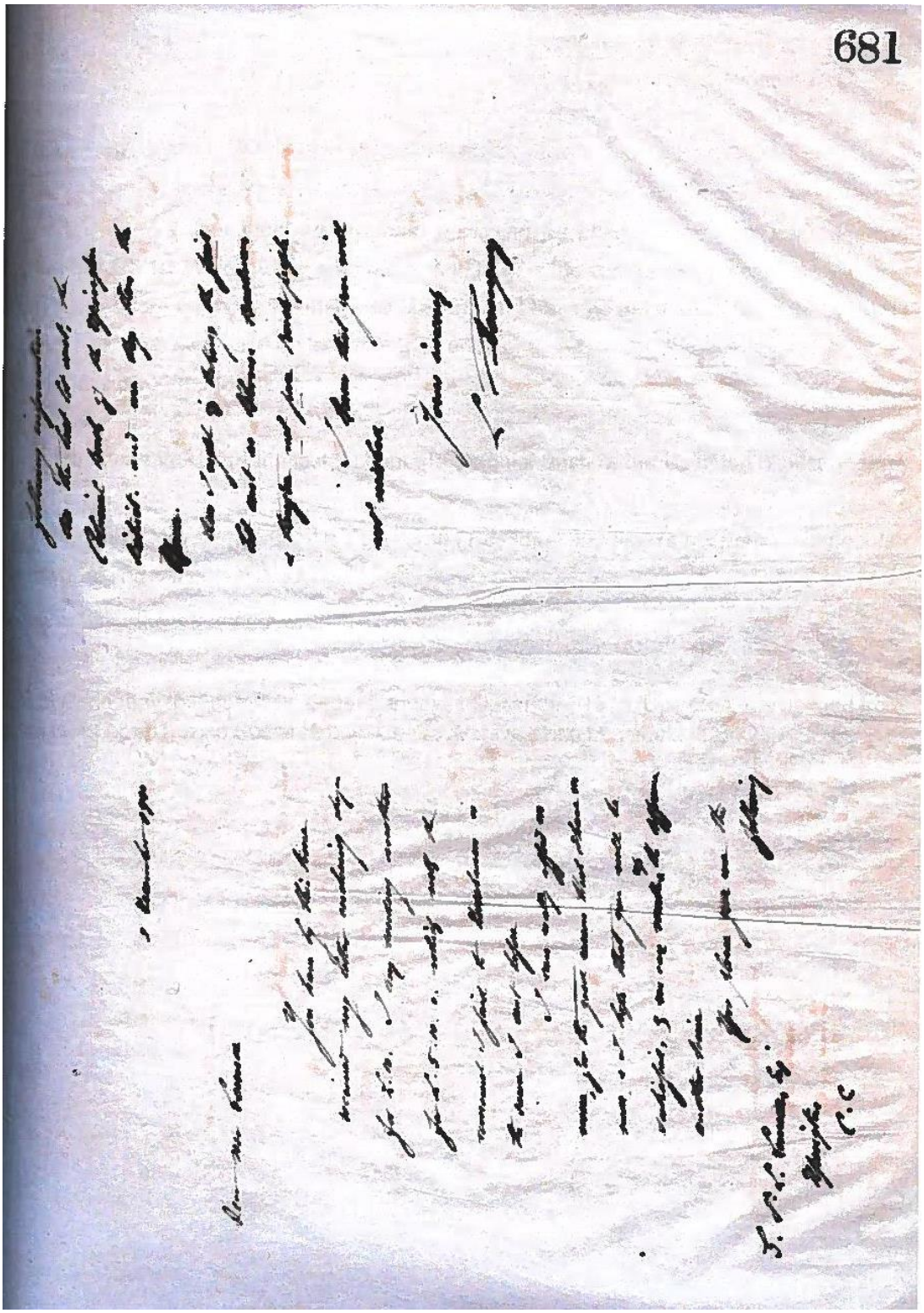
1. What is your understanding of a museum?
   ……
2. What is your understanding of race?.....
3. What is your understanding of **sociology**?.....
4. Do you think there is any direct connection between **sociological** and **museological** studies?.....
5. Yes or No……
6. If No: why do you think so?.....
7. If Yes: please explain why……....
8. Do you think museums are extensions of the colonial empire? Yes or No:.....……..……..
9. If No: why do you think so?.....
10. If Yes: please explain why?:.....……
11. Would you give us one example of a museum or an exhibition that you think is linked to the colonial empire in South Africa or somewhere else in the world? .....
12. Do you think displaying indigenous or native people's in a Natural History or Anthropological Museum constitutes a racist offence? Yes or No?.....
13. If No: why do you think so?.....
14. If Yes: could you please explain why:...…….....……...
15. In your view, has there been any extensive institutional critique by **Sociologists** against the involvement of the museums in the construction of race ideology and colonial empire in South Africa? Yes or No:……...……
16. If No, why do you think so?.....
17. If Yes; how so:
    ……..……..……
    ……..……..
18. Do you think race is still a problem in South Africa? Yes or No:……..…...
19. If No: please explain why…….
20. If Yes: why do you think so:…….....……..…
21. Do you have any race incident(s) either on social media or in your immediate environment that you would like to share?.....
22. By displaying black Africans in the Natural History museum, would you say the museological institution played a role in the construction of race ideology? Yes or No:…….....……..……
23. If No: why do you think so?.....

24. If yes: could you please explain why?.....
25. Do you think Museums need to be decolonized?
26. If No: please explain why:……
27. If Yes: how so?.....
28. What **sociological** solution(s) would you suggest in dealing with race in museums and society in general?…….....

Thank you for taking time to answer these questions

APPENDIX Z (3)

Manuscript of the Louis *Péringuey letter to St George Leger Lennox, 1 December 1910*



Appendix: Z (j) (Transcribed by Robyn-Leigh Cedras)
Louis *Péringuey to St George Leger Lennox, 1 December 1910*

"Dear Mr Lennox

You have by this time received my letter enclosing [a] cheque for £.10. I am sending another £.5.10. Which with amount I paid to…*is the same I sent before. I can really afford no more, for the good reason that I have no more and I hope you will now please give me the following*

[Page 2/2] following information. Are the last lot sent the Colonial Bush of the Upington district and are they then the Nama am I right in taking the first lot not as Korana Bushman and they're not pure Bush people. I know that you will not mislead. Yours Sincerely L Péringuey."[804]

[804] Louis *Péringuey to St George Leger Lennox, 1 December 1910, Upington transcribed from letter number 681,* Iziko Social History Centre Archives, Iziko Museums of South Africa] (Robyn-Leigh Cedras, thesis, p.157)